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DANIEL JOHNSON - FLEMING



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**THE LURE OF INDIA'S TREE-LINED ROADS, GREEN FIELDS,
AND EVERLASTING HILLS**

BUILDING WITH INDIA

BY DANIEL JOHNSON FLEMING

*Author of Marks of a World Christian,
Devolution in Mission Administration,
Schools with a Message in India, etc.*

Published jointly by
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TO ELIZABETH. COLE FLEMING

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FOREWORD

WE are happy to announce that this study book is published jointly by the Central Committee on the United Study of Foreign Missions and the Missionary Education Movement.

Many have known the author, Rev. Daniel Johnson Fleming, Ph.D., through his book *Marks of a World Christian*, and will recognize in *Building with India* the same spiritual power that breathed through former series of studies so widely used by students of missions.

Dr. Fleming's twelve years of missionary service in India as professor in Forman Christian College, Lahore, and his recent visit to the country as Secretary of The Commission on Village Education in India, sent out by the missionary boards of Britain and America, qualify him to write with authority on India—that wonderful land which is moving forward so rapidly into larger and more intimate relations with the world of our day.

*Central Committee on the United Study
of Foreign Missions*

*Missionary Education Movement of the
United States and Canada*

PREFACE

IT would be possible for us to approach the study of India as a strange, elusive, romantic land, and to deepen the feeling of distance by calling Indians the most Oriental of all Eastern peoples. Or we might think of them as our worthy relatives, recalling the way in which the ancestry of many there and here go back to a common Aryan stock. It is interesting to be reminded that it was in a great adventure of finding another route to the fabled riches of India that Columbus discovered America. It might make India seem closer to note the number of words that she has given to us¹ and to learn that our so-called Arabic notation, the production of which was a most important achievement for the race, may more properly be called the Babylonian-Hindu notation.

It will be more profitable, however, to stimulate our imagination until we habitually see all other peoples as part of our common humanity, inevitably linked with us in the task placed before the human race on this planet. The very title of this book is intended to suggest God's constructive cooperative enterprise—"for we are laborers together with God ye are God's building." We shall be studying India; but in the background of our thought, let us try to keep the conception of a better world wrought out by the cooperation of men of different races as empowered by God.

¹Bungalow, coolie, punch, cashmere, calico, madras, khaki, almirah, catechu, deva, ghee, gambier, lac, nabob, gharry, etc.

Preface

What more stimulating conception can we have than that of the Kingdom—a society of ever-developing, creative, cooperating personalities. Our vision is of individuals, changed and unified through thoroughgoing commitment to Jesus Christ and manifesting through Him, both singly and together, health, joy, power, wisdom, and love. Our vision is of peoples who have entered into their birthright as children of God, some working in the world of physical things and some in the realm of ideas and ideals; some by means of science and others with spiritual gifts; but all in conscious fellowship under a cooperating, purposing, and eternally loving Father.

In this volume, therefore, let us think of India as a potential, and in part as an actual, co-partner in the world-task. There are six simple questions we would wish to ask about any other people with whom eventually we are to enter into Christian co-operation. (1) What capacities, what attainments, what helpful heritage do they bring to the partnership? (2) What are the things which are temporarily keeping them from their best—their handicaps, their needs? (3) What are they striving for, what are their aspirations, in what constructive and helpful ways are they working for themselves and for others? (4) What has the Church's great enterprise known as missions done and what can it still do in cooperation with this other people to build up a better land? (5) What movements or conditions among them are of outstanding significance to the Kingdom? (6) What is the extent to which the Christian spirit and force have become organized and naturalized in the land? For, revolutionary as

Preface

it has been for missionary thinking both at home and abroad, forward-looking Christian thought is now for the most part whole-heartedly accepting the central importance of the native Church. These, then, are the questions which the six chapters of this book attempt to answer in regard to India.

D. J. F.

NEW YORK CITY
January
1922

CHAPTER ONE

India's Heritage

Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honorable, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report; if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things.

I

THOSE who know India and have spent years in close friendship with her people delight to witness to certain characteristics of land and folk which deserve high appreciation.

The land itself has elements of great charm. There are the magnificent Himalayas—abode of eternal snows. Live for a day in Darjeeling with the glory of the peaks of Kinchenjanga before you, and your conception of sublimity will have forever found its concrete expression. Spend a summer in the Vale of Kashmir, and in memory it will tower above every Western resort. Walk forty miles into the Himalayas beyond Simla to the forest road of Baghi and let the charm of its mountain ferns and trees and torrents sink in upon you. Take the back-water route along the coast of Malabar where, as you are poled along through over-shadowing palms, you can hear the surf of the ocean less than a mile away. Motor along the British roadways densely overarched with India's brilliantly flowering trees. Look across the green fields of North India

on a cool December morning. The oxen are busy at the creaking Persian wheels, causing streams of water to flow along countless channels on their life-giving way. The song of men at labor can be heard, and the graceful poise of the women bearing aloft their water-pots catches the eye at a distance. Live in the open on far-stretching plains, beneath clear skies, in an environment of simple people who give you their warm affection, with work that you know is worth while and for lasting good, then you will forget the monotony and wearisomeness and languor of the hot weather and the irritations and long separations that are inevitable for a Westerner in India.

Drop into a well-stocked library and give yourself the pleasure of looking into books on Indian architecture. You will find that Hindu India has its three distinct styles of temple structure. There will be illustrations, also, of the great Muhammadan buildings. You will see pictures of the lace-like marble screen-work in the fort at Delhi, and of the exquisite marble buildings inlaid with precious stones that make the eleven mile drive from Delhi to the Kutb Minar one of the notable roadways of the world. At Bijapur is a Moghul tomb which dates back to the seventh century, with a dome as large as that of the Pantheon at Rome. Experts say that it is artistically one of the most beautiful forms of roof yet invented, and it is constructed entirely on Indian principles unknown at that time in Europe. From the standpoint of one interested in architectural creativeness, India has a wealth of tombs and temples and mosques. If she had no

other basis of distinction, travelers would refuse to pass her by.

A study of India's handicrafts opens up a fairy world of beauty. In the seventeenth century India was the world's chief center for the finer textiles, and contemporaneous writers described her cottons and linens as diaphanous mist dyed with the rainbow. Chiseled ivory, miniature painting, wood carving, beautiful forms in metals with inlaid designs reveal a skill that has been cultivated throughout the years. In the best shops one can see carpets and embroideries of exquisite pattern and gorgeous coloring, curtains, shawls, and muslins worthy of a land that for centuries led the world in weaving. Each large area has a standardization in dress that is worthy of commendation, and the women have worked out ways of draping themselves that are very becoming and often truly beautiful, combining simplicity and economy to a remarkable degree. Many of the high-caste women do exquisite embroidery and appliqué work and take a pride in showing brilliant and dexterous handiwork in gold and silver thread. An appreciation of India's art, like the knowledge of her language, is one means of gaining insight into her way of seeing and thinking. Many of our homes contain treasured brass or wood or rug—silent witnesses to India's contribution to the beauty of the world.

II

In the West we usually regard literacy as an essential of culture. It is a surprise, therefore, to one who has heard about the ninety-four per cent in In-

dia who cannot read and write, to find that often an illiterate villager can repeat some of the finest devotional poems and songs of India's religious teachers. Knowledge of India's classic heroes and heroines is common. How do the people acquire this culture?

One way by which Indians come into possession of their classical heritage is through music, of which they are passionately fond. All over India music has a great part in the joy of life and in the expression of religious devotion. From dark to dawn they will listen with rapture to good singing. In this way the sweet and beautiful songs of the *Gita Govinda* have become an inseparable part of the heritage of Bengal, and the Tamil singer-preachers have made their tender lyrics of the soul's devotion an integral part of the religious life of the south. In medieval days it was lyrical evangelists who taught the new ideals of the *bhakti*¹ revival to the common people through songs.

Indian music presents one of the most highly developed systems of music in the world. It is very different from Western systems in its exclusion of harmony and in its development of the variations and grace of melody, in the intricate and elaborate time measures and the importance given to the drum-beat, and in the way each *raga* (melody-form) is associated with a particular period of the day or night and often with a particular season of the year.

Some Christian missions have depended on translations of Western hymns set to Western music. But Western music can never win the heart of India.

¹The devotional branch of Hinduism.

Far wiser have been those who have entered the open door into the hearts of India through lyrical evangelism designed after indigenous models. Where this has been done, people sit listening for hours to the Christian message thus presented. The singer-preacher, aided by hand cymbals, drums, drone, and possibly a stringed instrument, unfolds some Bible story, chanting the prose exposition and every now and then breaking forth into one of the chain of songs that develops the various incidents of the theme. Already there is the distinct promise that India with its passion for song will some day give rise to a new development in hymnology for the Christian Church.

A second way in which the people of India acquire classical culture without literacy is through the greatly developed art of story-telling and dramatic expression. The professional story-teller in India continues to this day to occupy a place of the highest importance in popular life. His visit to a village or a town becomes a matter of absorbing interest. For several nights in succession he holds his audiences spellbound long after midnight, while he relates the tales of their two national epics—the *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana*. The power of memory quite surpassing anything we develop in a literate land, the faculty of dramatic expression, and the elegant diction contribute to the fascination of these times of joy in the simple village life. Moreover, the folk-lore known by some of the women is often quite astonishing. The inimitable stories of the Bible, when once learned, are told and retold through the villages for many a day.

III

Stored up in Sanskrit, Pali, and Prakrit texts is another great element in India's heritage. Her literature, extending back to 1500 B. C., is of very unequal quality, but contains occasional material of high value and of extreme interest. Every Indian is proud of this classic literature. Apart from the four *Vedas*, the *Brahmanas*, *Sutras*, *Upanishads*, and the two great epics—the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*—and other classic books, there is a wealth of vernacular poetry. This has been sung into the heart of the people for many generations like some of our own great hymns.

A knowledge of this religious poetry of the vernaculars, even more than that of the classic books, will give the Indian Church a hold on the people. This vernacular poetry is not always noble and fine; much of it is saturated with uncleanness; it is all steeped in the popular beliefs and superstitious practices of Hinduism. Yet here and there it rises to great excellence from the point of view of language and literature, and some portions are good both morally and religiously. To every note of it, the popular heart responds. Since in a peculiar way poetry is the avenue for truth in India, we are to be thankful for the growing hymnology of the Church.

IV

Another gift possessed by India is her power of contemplation. Her spiritual instinct makes it natural for many of her most earnest souls to meditate hour after hour. Who knows but that India's devotional emphasis may be a corrective to our overstress

on activity? When, eager for India's good, we attempt to stimulate her to Western standards of expedition through inculcating business and efficiency methods, should we not be solicitous lest the talent already there be lost? The two ideals of meditation and of vigorous action should supplement one another.

Akin to this genius for meditation is India's philosophic temperament. Throughout the centuries the Hindu mind has turned its attention, not to science or to history, but pre-eminently to a long continued wrestling with the most serious problems of the intellect and spirit. Hinduism itself has six orthodox systems of philosophy, and Jainism, one. Hinduism's greatest philosophic achievement is the realization of the unity underlying diversity. For many centuries India was the university of Asia, as Greece once was that of Europe. Many are looking forward to the time when the Indian Church shall have developed a theological literature of its own, with the hope that the natural set or bias of the Eastern mind will enable it to make invaluable contributions toward the philosophical interpretation of our Christian faith. In thinking of world growth, let us be not oblivious to the present and potential reservoirs of intellectual power in the Aryan mind of India. India's heritage of thinking—not merely of thought, but of thought power—may be one of India's greatest gifts to the world.

V

India's capacity for renunciation stands out among her attributes. She instinctively gives the

tribute of her admiration to one who manifestly places things of the spirit above things of the flesh, and one may doubt whether a religious type that does not markedly show renunciation of the world will ever appeal to her. Queen Gandhari, feeling that no wife should enjoy a privilege which is denied her husband, goes happily blindfolded throughout her married life, in order to share the misfortune of her blind husband. Sita voluntarily sets out with her husband to encounter the dangers and privations of the jungle when he is exiled for fourteen years from his royal home. There is scarcely a Hindu woman throughout the length and breadth of India to whom the story of the suffering Sita is not known and to whom her character is not a model.

All over India you will meet wandering sadhus (monks or friars). Clad in simple, saffron cloths, and with little more than beggar's bowls, tongs, and skins on which to sit and meditate, they go from sacred place to sacred place. According to their system, every Brahman should leave work and family at fifty years of age and should spend the rest of his life in meditation. Take twenty minutes to read Kipling's story of "The Miracle of Purun Bhagat" in the *Second Jungle Book*, and you will never forget this ingrained aspect of India's ideal.

It should be noted that while a sadhu at his best embodies a very prevalent Hindu belief that the life of the spirit is beyond all comparison more important and real than that of the flesh, it is an entirely self-centered life. India's holy men do not seek to serve others. By very theory they can have no responsibility for other men and women. Moreover, a

large proportion of India's sadhus are sturdy beggars devoid of spirituality or devotion who cover up a life of laziness or fraud with the insignia of presumptive saintliness. Many stupify themselves by the use of hemp, thus giving the appearance of indifference to things of sense. It is only a small minority of the mendicants who have high standards of spiritual life, but these so take the imagination of India that in her eyes the sadhu's begging bowl is more the mark of a saint than of a beggar.

Sadhus often seen by tourists, a limited type, manifest their renunciation in spectacular ways—burying themselves up to their noses in the ground, lying on spikes, measuring their length prostrate on the ground for miles to some temple, letting water drip on their heads while they are parched with thirst, sitting between four fires with India's sun burning down upon them, or running spiked wires through their flesh. On the merely physical plane Indian asceticism cannot be surpassed. It is a sad story and we may not approve the form, but what a *capacity* for self-abnegation India presents! Down under these ofttimes revolting sights there is not infrequently something noble—the readiness to mortify the flesh for the sake of the spirit.

The ideal of "detachment" is an integral part of the spirit of India. One of her most popular scriptures says: "Thy business is with action only, never with its fruits; so let not the fruit of action be thy motive, nor be thou to inaction attached. Perform action, O Dhananjaya, in union with the Divine, renouncing attachments, and evenly balanced in success and failure. . . . Pitiab!e are they who work for

fruit.”¹ This ideal of detachment from mere things has sunk into their subconscious selves. Surely there is something here to build upon by Him who said that His Kingdom was not of this world. Enriched and rightly related to the Christian ideal and dynamic, this deeply founded capacity for renunciation and detachment may yet furnish the West a corrective for our far too great commitment to materialistic aims and for our tendency to appraise success by monetary standards and by the ability to command luxury and the facilities for self-indulgence which money brings.

VI

India's most distinctive heritage is her religious consciousness. Here one comes very near the heart of India. It is exceedingly difficult to express the precise sense in which it can be said that Hindus have a special aptitude for spiritual things. Certainly it does not mean what Jesus meant when He spoke of worshipping God “in spirit and in truth.” But taking religion as a conscious relation between man and the supernatural and the acknowledgment of that relation in human conduct, India is unquestionably religious. From before birth until after death, the Hindu's life is full of sacramental observances.

Numerous shrines draw crowds of pilgrims. As many as two million gather at the Kumbh Mela, near Allahabad—almost one out of every hundred and sixty of the total population. In any orthodox Hindu home there is the daily worship of the fa-

¹The *Bhagavad Gita*, II: 47-49.

vorite deity in the temple-room of the house or before the niche kept for images.

It is because India beyond any other nation has this quest for inner peace that she makes a unique appeal to us to share with her the highest that we know. Her whole life is the expression of an unsatisfied desire. Suppose you were sending a sower forth to sow; just what would you consider good soil? Would you choose to plant, if possible, some seed in a certain advanced Hindu school where a whole morning is set aside for the teaching of religion; to which each little girl brings her idol-basket, with some clay, flowers, and sandal paste; where lights are lit, incense burned, the right attitude of meditation taught, and where the children are shown how to make and then how to worship the image? Or would you prefer hard and materialistic soil? I shall never forget the pathetically earnest faces of the women as they come one by one to the temples with their offerings of rice and water, bedeck their idol with flowers, and circle round it saying, "Ram, Ram, Sita Ram! Ram, Ram, Sita Ram!" Why should not their manifest capacity for religious devotion be related to the great Satisfier? To us should come the overpowering impulse to say to such, "Whom ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you." Although much of the worship of popular Hinduism is propitiation of deities by material means for material ends, it is very clear to those working among the people that their hearts are unsatisfied by these things. The long pilgrimages, the self-imposed fastings and penances are signs of a restlessness of soul which, like some

Chandra Lela or Pandita Ramabai,¹ spends weary years in following every known way to obtain inner peace.

With such an unquenched desire continuing through the centuries, it is not surprising that India has become the motherland of a greater number of living, organized, influential religions than any other country in the world. She has produced religions rather than accepted them. Accordingly, any adequate understanding of India requires a philosophic and religious interpretation. India's search has been embodied mainly in three great religions—Hinduism, Jainism, and Buddhism—whose followers comprise over one fifth of the human race.

We believe that "there was the true light, even the light which lighteth every man, coming into the world," and that God has "suffered all the nations to walk in their own ways, and yet he left not himself without witness." We are, therefore, not surprised to find a certain reality and rich variety of experience in India's religious leaders, and positive values in certain elements of Hindu thought, literature, and practice which challenge respect and most careful constructive appraisal. We remember how Jesus, even in the face of Jewish pride and conceit, was able to see God's dealings with the widow of Zarephath, Naaman the Syrian, the Roman centurion, and illustrated the principle in the parable of the good Samaritan. In like manner we should not hesitate to acknowledge good wherever it is found. The greater the effort to understand, the more purpose-

¹The biographies of these two Christian women give a fine insight into what Hinduism is. See Bibliography.

ful the determination to discover what values have emerged in India's age-long quest for the Divine, the more positive becomes the assurance that the coming of the Christ to India, while supplanting many things, will, on the other hand, enrich and fulfil many others.

Gautama Buddha and Asoka embody kindness and tolerance; Ramanuja and Ramanand worked out a distinct theism; Kabir, Nanak, and Chaitanya stand out for devotion; and Tulsi Das and Tuka Ram for simple piety. Poems like the two following¹ which have come down for three hundred years from Tuka Ram are frequent in the *bhakti* (devotional) school.

THE ONLY REFUGE

I am a mass of sin;
Thou art all purity;
Yet thou must take me as I am
And bear my load for me.

Me Death has all consumed;
In thee all power abides.
All else forsaking, at thy feet
Thy servant Tuka hides.

HE KNOWS OUR NEED

Unwearied he bears up the universe;
How light a burden I!
Does not his care the frog within the stone
With food supply?

The bird, the creeping thing lays up no store;
This great One knows their need.
And if I, Tuka, cast on him my load,
Will not his mercy heed?

¹*Psalms of Maratha Saints*, Nicol Macnicol, pp. 65, 74.

That the last two elements in India's heritage are really operative in these days is strikingly evidenced in the remarkable and widespread influence which has been wielded by Mahatma Gandhi. It has been his life of renunciation and sacrifice and his deep religious nature that have fired India's imagination. In what other land has a political leader found such characteristics his deepest source of power?

In granting him leadership, India was undoubtedly moved by the fact that Gandhi cared nothing for sensual pleasures, nothing for riches, nothing for comfort or praise or promotion. Coming from a well-to-do family, he has lived on a most meager allowance. To the West he would seem ascetic, weighing less than one hundred pounds, living on fruits, vegetables, and rice, eating no sweets or spices, dressing like a poor man in homespun, and traveling third class. Before taking up the leadership of India's demand for home rule, he had already endeared himself to the people by the heroism and prolonged self-sacrifice with which in South Africa he used passive resistance to win a battle for the rights of Indian indentured labor. In the course of the struggle, he and his wife and children were imprisoned, and he was forcibly fed. To the Indian, this gaunt, wan figure is a saint. He gave up his law practice in Bombay because of his religion. In Calcutta he told an audience that the Indian people feared guns, religious legalists, and government officials more than they feared God, and that unless they gave up that fear and made religion the foundation of life, individual and national, they would never be fit for self-government.

He has been greatly influenced by Christianity in his methods and message. He has been an earnest student of the Bible and at one time contemplated becoming a Christian. But there is a background in conformity with Indian ideals to such an extent that the people spontaneously call Gandhi, "Mahatma" or "Great-Souled One." Mistaken as he has been in many things, there is suggestion for Christian workers in this life which embodies so much of India's characteristic heritage and yet adds other elements deemed helpful for India's welfare. It is noteworthy that all India reveres Gandhi the patriot-saint, even when all India does not follow Gandhi the politician. Reference is made later to Gandhi's political methods. These are thoroughly repudiated by many who would be willing to admit certain elements of strength in his popularity.

VII

To India's heritage of other days must be added her present-day throbbing spirit of nationalism. The average Indian has a far longer time perspective than we have. An American feels that he is getting pretty close to the beginning of his country's history as he visits certain revolutionary sites about Boston. But the Indian has a literature and culture that go back over thirty times as far. He can sweep back over the whole of English history and point to Indian monarchs and sages two thousand years before our ancestors ceased to be cavemen and lake-dwellers, the source of those who Cicero says were the stupidest and ugliest slaves brought to Rome.

He knows that India's culture grew up from its

own roots with a character of its own, since vast mountain barriers and an untraveled sea almost wholly shut India off from the West. He knows that this culture had a distinct effect on China, and that Buddhism indirectly from India gave a great impetus to Japanese civilization. Even yet a traveler constantly finds reminders of Indian architecture, sculpture, painting, and worship in Ceylon, Burma, Tibet, and Siam, as well as in China and Japan. In these days we Westerners behold our civilization taken up by one people after another; but the Indian cherishes the memory of a golden age when Indian culture went forth as a fertilizing influence, giving form and color to the thought of Asia.

The modern Indian looks at other nations, but he is not envious. He is thankful that he was born in India and has a share in her peculiar genius. He talks about an ancient culture that has maintained its progress unbroken for thirty centuries. He feels that his land possesses a common tradition to be found in song and legend, great personalities that embody the character and ideals of the nation, and sacred places where the national memory is enshrined. He claims that Japan and China accepted light from India because she was engrossed, not in obtaining physical power, but in following essential spiritual purpose. Sometimes this spirit has gone too far in glorifying every element in the past. Some political extremists, after detailing what they consider the humiliating mortifications of the present, have pictured the exaggerated glories of the past and thus have evolved an unhistorical India.

But Indian nationalism does not look wholly to

the past. India realizes that in the World War she sent out one hundred thousand more soldiers than Australia, New Zealand, and Canada combined, and that the tracks, rolling-stock, engines, coal, and staff for the strategic railways in Mesopotamia came from her supply. India has twenty-five times as much arable land as Japan, though the yield per acre is much lower. With improved methods of farming, India can supply in increasing quantities the products which the world needs. At some places in south India three crops of rice are harvested from the same land in a single year. India now leads the world in the production of rice, sugar-cane, tea, jute, and shellac, and comes second in cotton and tobacco. The world's lack of leather and paper can be partly supplied from India's potential resources. There is a distinct revival of Indian art in Bengal under the leadership of the Indian Society of Oriental Art. An annual exhibition is held, and a whole school of Indian artists finds encouragement in the reception given to their work. There is, moreover, considerable talk about an all-India language, and more than one vernacular has its champion who would like to displace English with a favorite Indian tongue.

The Indian will admit our practical bent, our inventiveness, our wealth and luxury and power; but he refuses to be dazzled by these things and realizes that India surpasses us in patience, tact, ingenuity, and grasp of minute detail. He believes that, although his culture may lack certain qualities which we rank high, there is still much in Indian civilization that is good, beautiful, and valuable, and which

can supplement other cultures of the world. To be sure, Indians are different from us. But differences do not necessarily imply inferiority. Certain it is that the Indian is not conscious of any drawback from race, nor would he willingly get into the white man's skin.

The modern Indian has a distinct conviction that India has her own individuality that must find expression—her own mission and message to mankind. He wants the nations to recognize India's right and capacity to exert her influence in the councils of the world, and feels assured that they will ever be exerted in the interests of peace and good-will toward all nations and peoples. At one of the early meetings of the League of Nations, on whose Assembly India is represented, the Maharajah of Nawanagar, speaking for the Indian princes, pledged their interest in the creation of a fund to fight typhus although this disease was not an outstanding danger in India. India, as a member of the British Empire, had her representative at the recent Limitation of Armament Conference in Washington. In India's name, this representative placed on the bier of America's Unknown Warrior a wreath bearing the beautiful inscription, "They never die who die to make life worth living."

Not alone by non-Christians is the national aspiration felt, but by the educated section of the Christian community. It too is insisting that India be better understood and respected. A Christian nationalist will admit that there is a vast amount in India which is inconsistent with the spirit of Christ and which, therefore, must be rooted out;

nevertheless he is firm in a conviction that India has not been without the tutelage of the great Teacher of Mankind, and moreover is being disciplined in peculiar ways for some great purpose in God's world.

VIII

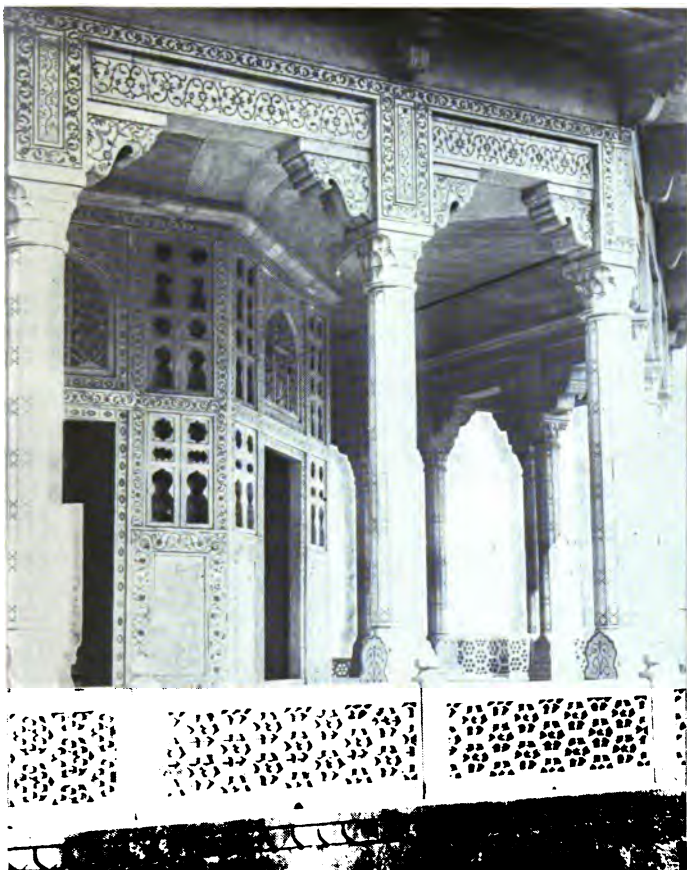
If India has such a heritage, why is it, then, that while many tourists treasure for a lifetime the fascination of their glimpse into that interesting land, many others are repelled even at the thought of India? Manifestly it is a question of emphasis in attention. Data for either view in varying degrees exist in any country. One may stand breathless before the marvelous beauty of the Taj Mahal while domes and minarets, pierced screens and inlaid marble make their exquisite offering to the eye. Or one may push aside the impression of beauty in the Taj and become absorbed in a socio-economic reflection—the ugly fact of enforced labor lasting twenty years under the whip of a despotic ruler. It is possible to let yourself be either thrilled or puzzled by the fact that this most beautiful mausoleum ever erected to the memory of womanhood is to be found in India.

Again, as one views the massive rock-cut temples near Bombay and Madras or the exquisite carving in the shrines at Mount Abu, one may yield to awe at the enormous labor involved and realize that in the broadest sense India's great temples stand as monuments of the religious consciousness. An old, lowcaste woman was once asked the cost of a temple in process of building. She turned to the mission-

ary in surprise and said, "We don't know. It is for our god. We don't count the cost." It is said that sculpture has been cultivated more than painting in India since it offers opportunity for a more laborious expression of religious zeal. Or one may turn from these thoughts and be dominated by the reflection that the builders were undoubtedly stimulated by the principle of merit, thinking that the more labor they expended on pious work, the more benefit they would receive from the gods.

Similarly there are two attitudes which one may take toward every strange and backward custom and toward the expression of the religious life of the people. A real question arises in the minds of some as to whether the best way to win a great people from a bad custom is to be severely condemnatory in our judgment or, while still working against it, to admit the angle of usefulness which has enabled it to live through the centuries. Should we concentrate our attention on the falsehood in a non-Christian religion or must we also note whatever of truth it enshrines? Would we feel our enthusiasm for missions endangered if less emphasis is placed on the dark views of the social and moral conditions of other lands as compared with our own or have we such an unshakable conception of the unique, priceless, and indispensable value in Jesus Christ that we fearlessly look at the very best a non-Christian system can present, confident that only through Him is the life more abundant to come to the thronging millions?

Let us look at the highest, noblest possible interpretation of an ethnic faith. When we see Christ



ONE OF INDIA'S GEMS OF ARCHITECTURE

The Jessamine Tower in the Fort, Agra, built in the seventeenth century by the Emperor Shah Jehan who also built the Taj Mahal. Note the three types of decoration: the pierced marble railings and screens above the doors, the marble medallions with flowers in relief, and, on the flat surfaces, the inlay work consisting of semi-precious stones and black marble.



FITTING FOR LEADERSHIP INDIA'S GREATEST UNDEVELOPED RESOURCE

A science class in the Woman's Christian College, Madras, one of three union institutions in India in which the mission boards of Great Britain and North America are co-operating.

towering infinitely above even this, what could provide a surer basis for the cause of Christian missions? Some day the grossest social and moral evils which we proverbially associate with mission lands may have disappeared, for against many of them, leaders who do not yet consciously acknowledge indebtedness to Jesus Christ are even now manfully working. If that day comes, the missionary motive will still be keen and absorbing. Men and women will still need the Christ. Anyone with a spark of love must yearn to alleviate in some way the grievous needs which of necessity protrude into every chapter of this book. But if India had no record of wasting sickness, grinding poverty, and dwarfing illiteracy, an inward sense of inevitable failure and worthlessness apart from Christ would move us by the most powerful missionary motive. The unmistakable need may lead us on, but the necessary Christ is the motive that abides and sustains.

We should be very careful that we do not sustain interest in missions at the cost of international respect and good-will. The growth of nationalism has made India sensitive. Educated, English-reading Indians, both Christian and non-Christian, are quick to resent any appeal that is judged unfair or unproportioned, and to give publicity to their resentment in their public press. The world is so small that we might well imagine an intelligent Hindu present at every missionary meeting. The wholesomeness of the atmosphere in which we do our work abroad depends in part upon the way we present the cause of missions in the West. In stimulating the missionary purpose, we must lay stress

not alone upon facts which will stir the emotion of pity, but upon those which will give a proportioned view and which are set forth in such a spirit as would enlist our approval if others used it in appraising our people and civilization.

The careful presentation in its proper perspective of the good in non-Christian religions does much to cut the ground from under the parlor groups that grow enthusiastic over Oriental cults—an occasional fad for city women. It is easy to see how these cults gained their influence. The nineteenth century, among other things, resulted in two great advances. One was a vision of the vast moral and social needs in non-Christian lands. The Christian Church was filled with compassion for what were—and are—unquestioned and grievous evils. It often became so absorbed and preoccupied in its ministry to these needs that a country like India became associated only with idols, pestilence, famine, disease, and illiterate crowds sunk in animal worship and quite devoid of culture and civilization.

The other insight, coming from a great company of scholarly Orientalists—missionaries, traders, travelers, and anthropologists—resulted in an unprecedented increase in the accurate knowledge of the religions of the world. The Theosophical Society assumed a generous attitude to the ethnic faiths and invited people to join in the study of these religions in a friendly, appreciative way. It is this attitude of sympathy which has drawn most of the intellectual men and women who have been attracted to this society.

Now scholars tell us that the bulk of the work that

the Theosophists have done in the exposition of religion is unscientific and misleading.¹ Yet we have to acknowledge that they have attempted to do in a wrong way what the Church ought to have done in a right way. It is the unexpected discovery that there are precious gems in non-Christian faiths that causes the uninformed to suspect that there are unworked mines of spiritual wealth in these religions. They are thus lured away to some popular cult. Possibly fewer would have been captivated if we had been less preoccupied with needs, and if, while stating that ninety-nine Vedic hymns quite fail to arouse our interest and appreciation, we had also taught that the hundredth is well worth re-reading. India has inadequately understood the Reality she has been seeking and has, therefore, lacked ethical dynamic; nevertheless, we should not fail to acknowledge that facts and literature prove that India's consciousness of the Unseen is very strong indeed. We cannot too clearly see that India's ultimate Reality has no purposeful activity and embodies all the defects of pantheism; but we should be ready to admit the attainment of her forest sages who approached the great realization of the immanence of the Divine in the world, in statements like the following: "I, indeed, am below. I am above. I am to the west. I am to the east. I am to the south. I am to the north. I, indeed, am this whole world."² In short, it is essential that our approach be sympathetic and appreciative. And then,

¹Cf. Farquhar, J. N., *Modern Religious Movements in India*, pp. 208-90.

²*Chandogya Upanishad*, 7. 25. (Hume's translation).

as long as we keep a true perspective, no fair minded Indian will object to a picture that has its shadows as well as its sunshine.

IX

The Indian Christian Church will benefit by a fresh study of the best in India. It is significant that the Young Men's Christian Association is so sure that a study of the best in India is advisable that it is bringing out a series of volumes on the heritage of India which are cheap enough to be popularly available. In such work Indian Christians and missionaries must use constant discrimination to separate the good from the indifferent and the unwholesome. It would be the height of folly to give unmeasured praise to everything Indian simply because it is Indian. The most ardent Christian nationalist, however keen may be his consciousness of India's great common heritage, should demand a rigid exclusion of all elements which are out of harmony with the spirit of Christ. As we shall see, India has a darker heritage. Let us remember the lesson of the Fourth Century and the period following, when mass movements to Christianity were found in Europe. Converts tended to bring over into Christian worship and thought pagan forms and spirit. There is a danger that this experience may be repeated today in India.

It is well to remember with what loathing Pandita Ramabai turned away from the inheritance of Hinduism. Herself a Sanskrit scholar, she would not let her daughter learn Sanskrit. To this remarkable Christian, whose heart's desire and prayer

to God for India is that India may be saved, Hinduism is the power of darkness, and from it she would say the Christian can obtain nothing good. Such strong testimony should warn any who have not had her intimate and tragic experience with the dominant religion in India that only the ablest and most spiritual souls should assume the task of separating the gold from the dross. Christianity's purity and transforming power in India depend upon the active existence of a Spirit-guided discrimination within the Indian Church.

For us of the West, appreciation of this heritage ought to make it easier to displace the spirit of patronage with the spirit of brotherhood. Perhaps if we valued India's heritage more, the judgment expressed by an Indian Christian saint of great spiritual penetration would never have been formed. Speaking to a Britisher of his relations with Western Christians, he said, "You know, you make us feel that you want to do good to us, but you don't make us feel that you *need* us." The seriousness of the situation arises from the danger that, if Western peoples offer Christianity to India in the spirit of condescension, she may refuse it.

Furthermore, an appreciation of the extent to which the best spirit of India is to be found in her folk-lore, art, and literature, is somewhat changing our method. Writers of an older day often inculcated a disgust with everything Indian. It used to be that to become a Christian meant almost complete isolation from all that was best in India's traditions of custom and religious belief. Many a person in a long established Christian community in

India is almost as ignorant of her folk-lore as if he had been born in the West. Now, however, in accord with the demand of the times, our missionaries are taking the dominant national spirit into consideration in the selection of materials to be used in their elementary and secondary education. They are drawing more upon Indian folk-lore, literature, and art, since the result of their work must be something that is not only Christian, but also Indian. We must be ready to encourage the kind of selection from non-Christian sources that enabled our own Christianity to become naturalized in the Greek and Roman and European world.

Westerners have sometimes gone to the East in the aggressive spirit of Occidental civilization, assuming that there was no need of considering any culture but their own. However, most missionaries have long since come to see that if they are to teach anything to a given people, they must enter into its spirit and culture and learn to appreciate what these already contain. When the teaching of Christ links itself up with the cultural heritage of a country, the more readily can it make its appeal with power to the heart of that people. Hence, we do not try to eradicate a people's habits of thought and ways of doing things simply because they are not like our own. In so far as they are not un-Christian, we respect them and endeavor to enlist these indigenous ways and powers for worthful ends. Even further, we must realize without reserve that we go to learn as well as to teach. Every nation is our master in certain respects.

If we are ever to work with India for a better world, there must be a development of mutual appreciation and respect. Pity and compassion may go forth to those whom we do not respect, but if we are to enter into Christian cooperation with another people, there must be admiration for what is worthy in them. We must think of them not only as recipients of help, but as contributors of a rich store of customs and habits all their own. This inter-racial respect does not seem to come naturally. Every primitive people manifests a high disdain of other races and other cultures. Even for us, it is easier to point out the weaknesses of other nations than to recall their virtues. Their defects seem to stand out upon the surface for anyone with half an eye to see. It requires an effort to discover the goodness. Similarly, when we come to deal with another people, patronage seems to be easier than partnership, to work *for* them seems to be a great deal more fitting than to work *with* them. How characteristic was this remark referring to the people of India: "I'm interested in them and want to help them all I can, and I am sure our church wants to help them. Just what can we do for them?" But when asked, "Do you wish them to help you?" the person hesitated—"Well,—I had not thought about that. No, I hardly think so." The two factors here overlooked—cooperation and mutual appreciation—are those which God is leading modern missions to emphasize.

We rejoice that India has capacities and attainments which may be brought to the service of the

Kingdom. Her contributions are essential because the accomplishment of the world task cannot be an individual matter. It is not a possibility even for a nation, for it is becoming more and more plain that the making of a better world is not the work of any one country. It requires that God's purpose shall be widely shared by men. It depends on the efforts of all peoples combined. It might be possible for one people that had caught the vision to goad on another for an inch or so of progress, but the riches of the glory of God in the corporate life of man will not be fully manifested until all peoples are working together with Him. Herein we find ourselves inextricably interlinked with our fellows around the world. This is the true basis of interest in other lands—the interest back of this study of India—not curiosity, not romance, not pity, not largesse, but an eagerness to enlist the peoples in a great co-operative enterprise with others and with God.

What a challenge confronts the Church of the West as it contemplates the heritage of India! There is the opportunity of leading a gifted people to adopt the thrilling program of the Kingdom of God and of sharing with them the high privilege of world-wide service empowered by God. There is the possibility that in them too may be born the stupendous missionary purpose of co-working with God and all mankind for a better world. Thus would one more step be taken toward building up a society of personalities developed to their best, realizing their essential oneness with one another and with God, and consciously cooperating with His gracious purpose for the world.

Prayer

FATHER of all mankind, who hast planted good in every race, we praise Thee for the gifts Thou hast sent to the world through India. For all that she can place at Thy disposal, for all that can be purged of dross for the service of the world, and for all upon which the Christ can build, we thank Thee, O our Father.

¶ Grant that, in her effort to develop materially, India may not lose her spiritual capacities, that she may ever stand for spiritual growth, and that through Christ she may yet be the means of weaning men from empty pleasures to fellowship with Thee. Teach us to see beyond the engrossing activities of our Western life into the values in other lands, and grant to us that humility and liberal spirit which will appreciate and learn. Remove from us all pride, arrogance, censoriousness, and false assumption of superiority.

¶ Through no merit of our own Thou hast entrusted us with the revelation of Thyself in Christ—that which will satisfy the long search of India. Forbid that we should be dull of discernment or weak of will when with open mind we find the witness Thou hast left of Thyself in India and the Light that has lighted them. May we be true to them and true to Thee by sharing Him who alone shall bring India's heritage to its greatest glory. *Amen.*

CHAPTER TWO

Handicaps to Progress

WE have been looking at India's attainments; but unfortunately she has a darker, sadder heritage—her handicaps. Some of these are seen most clearly in the story of India's efforts to help herself.¹ Still others are vividly brought out in the biographies of Christian converts.² We want to focus attention for a time on some of these handicaps, not out of a feeling of superiority to India, or that any response which is self-congratulatory may be drawn forth. We need constantly to remember that we too have handicaps. But if India is our potential partner in a great world task, it is essential to know the liabilities as well as the assets she would bring to that partnership. Moreover, an appraisal of those liabilities is essential if our love, prayer, and friendly help are to be worthily and effectively directed toward amelioration and cooperative endeavor. We may admire intensely, but sympathy must be tempered by discrimination.

In thinking of India's needs we must remember that our condition is by no means the standard. Our responsibility is not so much to bring India to our present condition as though that were the norm; it is rather to impart the secret of all we deem highest in our growth. Our responsibility is to share our great heritage in Christ, to exhibit the Spirit

¹See Chapter III.

²See Bibliography.

He instils, and to urge His Way, not merely as one among many possible policies for India's fullest development, but as her one great, incomparable opportunity. We both have a long way to go—we are brothers in need. The best we have to share comes from no merit of our own; it has been a free gift. The important thing is that we both should be developing in the presence of the Highest.

From what follows it will be manifest that there is not only abundant opportunity, but urgent need for the straightforward sharing of things which are essential to India if she is to make her richest contribution to the world. While in some things India surpasses us, she sorely needs the Spring of living progress. We must share Western technique, modern education, many of our methods of social helpfulness, but above all a knowledge of the Christ. It may be that India's recognition of her many and varied needs will predispose her to the gospel and provide the stimuli to which its appeal can be made.

I

One cannot contemplate without concern the fact that the average life in India is only 24.7 years. In the United States the average term of life has risen to 44, and medical men are confidently expecting it to be 60 before many decades have passed. As we shall see, the figures for India need not be so low.

India's general death-rate is high (31.8 per 1000) compared with that of Japan (21.9), Canada (15.2), England, Scotland, and Wales (14.6), and the United States (14.1). The death-rate of infants¹ is

¹The number per 1000 born who die in their first year.

the most positive index of physical welfare which we possess. Official statistics show that there is scarcely a large town in India in which the rate is not above two hundred and in many of the largest towns it is more than four hundred.¹ The rate is not much more than a third as great in most places in the West.² An educational officer of the Government of India says that India loses two million babies each year, while many survive only to grow up weak and feeble. Inattention and bad hygienic surroundings during infancy are in part to blame. But one of the main causes is child marriage. A boy has children before he is supporting himself and before his wife is ready for the strain. Half the children born are doomed to an early death under present circumstances, and the amount they eat makes less food available for those who live; hence, those who survive tend to grow up inefficient. England's population increases as fast as India's with a birth-rate only a little over half as great as India's. The abolition of child marriage with a lower birth-rate would do much to give India the relief she needs for raising her economic and educational standards. The appalling handicaps of Indian women on the battle-field of motherhood are described in Chapter Four.

The health problems of India are enormous. Plague in its most virulent form first reached Bombay in 1896, and in the next twenty years took away ten million lives. Plague is now endemic in some

¹Delhi (1917), 256.24; Madras (1919), 360.7; Bombay (1918), 436.37; Mandalay (1916), 443.3.

²Canada, 99.1; United States, 77; England, Scotland, and Wales, 73.2; New York City, 81; Cleveland, 95.

provinces, so that India is the greatest reservoir of plague in the world. At times the death-rate goes up as high as one in one hundred. But in the most severely plague infected parts of India there is always a well defined plague-free season. In these months the foci of infection are sufficiently small to justify the hope that the disease can be conquered if only public opinion can be aroused, reporting agencies established, and rat destruction adopted. Do not these times of minimum infection challenge India—and us—to achieving effort?

Parasitic infections are very common. An officer working on hookworm inquiry gives the following figures for this infection where investigations have been made:—limited areas of Bombay Presidency, 40 per cent; of the Punjab, 60 per cent; of the United Provinces, 70-84 per cent; of Bengal, 80 per cent; and for thirteen districts of Madras Presidency 97-100 per cent. Conditions are conducive since in the country folks go about barefooted, and thus a ready entrance to the germs is provided. Figures given for whipworm, round worm, and thread worm ranged from 37 to 96 per cent. And yet as simple a precaution as the use of permanganate in wells would do much to lessen these drags on efficiency, while for hookworm an effective specific has been discovered. Every one who knows how these diseases sap the vitality of the laboring classes will rejoice that the Rockefeller Foundation, which has set before itself the task of eradicating hookworm the world around and has begun work in forty different countries, initiated work in India in 1920.

Tuberculosis is spreading in India as a result of

increased communications, the growth of new institutions which bring people together in buildings, and the substitution of factories for house industries.¹ The fringe of tuberculosis around any large city is demonstrably enlarging with more coming and going.

The custom of child marriage shows one of its serious sides in predisposing mothers and children to tuberculosis. Where purdah² conditions growing out of Muhammadan influence exist, vital statistics show that the death-rate among women is forty per cent higher than among men. The effect of the purdah system is well illustrated by statistics of a given town where the Muhammadans happen to belong to a far higher level than the Hindus, and therefore should be able to have better clothing and food, but among whom the purdah system is observed with special strictness. Here the average death-rate from tuberculosis among the Hindu men and women is 1.05 and 1.36 per thousand respectively; among the Muhammadan men and women 2.15 and 6.7 respectively.

Even where the purdah system does not prevail, as in south India, women sleep inside with doors and windows closed for fear of robbers who might tear from their arms and ears the large gold and silver ornaments which in India represent family savings. Others fear evil spirits and so sleep with their rooms

¹For a thorough treatment of this subject see *Tuberculosis in India*, Arthur Lankester, M. D.

²Literally, a veil or curtain which screens women from the gaze of men. In common usage it is applied to anything exclusively for women.

shut as tight as possible. An almost universal habit is the custom of sleeping with the head entirely covered with bedclothes. This naturally makes proper aeration of the blood impossible. Even when this ingrained habit can be broken, it leaves the new problem of protection from mosquitoes among people who cannot afford to buy a net, and of protection from cold in northern India on the part of those who can ill afford fuel or extra blankets.

More communities should be encouraged to follow Delhi's lead in establishing a purdah garden, a garden exclusively for women,—out of a portion of waste land, sheltering it from prying eyes by a high wall. Here women may benefit from fresh air, exercise, and mental change from close confinement in their homes.

In the West we are inclined to say that the housing condition of a community affects practically every aspect of its social well-being and is, therefore, one of the most important factors in determining the health and morals of a community. It would be interesting to discuss whether the statement also applies to conditions in India. Certainly there are those who hold that next to malaria, bad housing is responsible for the greatest number of deaths in India. The Indian Industrial Commission places better housing in the forefront of its recommendations for improving the conditions of the Indian artisan. In the Delhi Child Welfare Exhibit, in order to show to the people the effects of overcrowding, deficient air, and bad housing, there was a comparative demonstration where seedlings could grow under favorable and adverse conditions, e. g., in the

light, in the dark; in good soil, in sandy soil; fed with water lacking nitrates; grown sparsely, grown densely.

Imagination has no difficulty in picturing the far-reaching effects of bad sanitation. Not only actual deaths are to be reckoned, but there are the sick also. It has been calculated that one third of India's labor-time is lost through illness. There is the loss in time of those who care for the sick and the reduced efficiency of those who get well, for malaria which weakens is even worse than plague which kills. How can India forge ahead when plague alone has for the past twenty years taken an average of five hundred thousand per year, bringing wholesale disorganization of industry when it is at its height. Finally, there are those who are born with little strength or hardihood. India's ability to increase her contribution to the great problem of feeding the world depends on the capacity of her laborers for hard and consecutive work. In general, her rate of economic, industrial, and social progress will be determined in no small measure by her success in dealing with preventable disease.

Indians may not wish to change long established customs and habits, but at least data and demonstrations should be provided so that they may be able to estimate the cost in life and suffering which the continuance of certain habits involves. It is not easy, however, to rise to new and unusual standards. It helps our sympathy with India to seek out examples of inertia in the West, to note our callous attitude in many states to such evils as child labor and railway accidents or the way in which we

keep on using white bread when science has shown the superior quality of a whole wheat type.

II

There are plenty of problems and obstacles making the attainment of better conditions difficult. There is lethargy. The chief medical officer of the Punjab, speaking of a certain cheap substitute for quinine as a specific for malaria, has declared that "the general population are too lethargic and lazy to take the drug, even if it is at their hand, until the attack of fever comes along." Government officers in the Madras Presidency, having arranged new sites for the congested outcaste communities, have reported that in many cases such sites only a short distance away have remained unoccupied three years because of the inertia of the group. These unfortunate people were so far down in poverty and debt that they could not, or at least failed to, take advantage of better conditions.

There is religious superstition. Thousands of the uneducated still believe that disease is due to evil spirits and to the "evil-eye" that someone has cast upon the afflicted. Hosts are gripped by fatalism and hence resign themselves to conditions as being brought about by God's will, answering suggestions for improvement by, "What's the use?"

There is ignorance. Village ponds are still the common sources for drinking water notwithstanding the facts that they catch all sorts of surface drainage, that in them buffaloes wallow to their hearts' content, and on their edge the washerman beats out the soil from the village clothes. The vil-

lagers keep on drinking until the pools get so low that they can see the dirt.

Even though superstition and ignorance could be overcome, there is lack of an adequate budget to carry out approved plans, since modern health measures are expensive. The sanitary commissioner of the Government of India says¹ that there is no organized health staff for more than a mere fraction of India's population, and that only an insignificant percentage of the people who die are cared for at any stage of their final illness by persons possessing adequate medical qualifications. Vital statistics are recorded in rural districts by those who have little other claim to qualification than literacy, and yet it is recognized that a more or less accurate knowledge of the prevalence of preventable disease is the first essential to any adequate measure of prevention. Furthermore, some Indians think that the substitution of modern Western methods or standards for those which have been sanctioned by immemorial usage betokens lack of patriotic feeling.

Then there are real problems of judgment. Suppose you know that one of the most common kinds of ophthalmia comes from the custom of cooking inside the house in little fireplaces which fill the room with smoke. Would you advise chimneys in spite of the fact that the extra cost for fuel due to the increased draft would be impossible? Suppose you know that in winter women are injured from the common practice of sitting on the cold, damp ground. Would you advise the introduction of chairs and tables, with the changed economic standards these involve?

¹Report 1917, p. 39.

The introduction of Western schedules and concentrated study periods in the schools is making an additional demand for nourishment and care. When an Indian village child enters one of our mission boarding-schools, the change in environment is far more complete than a similar step would be for one in the West. The village child in his home enjoys extraordinary freedom; there is very little restraint; meals and hours of work are irregular; the child rests and sleeps when it wishes; and practically no discipline is attempted. The routine hours of a boarding-school are in absolute contrast to this. Hence, the diet regime of lax village life cannot be made a model for our boarding-schools. Bodies that might have stood the test of the casual life at home often develop unsuspected weaknesses when mind and body come under strains that the village never produced. We are just beginning to appreciate the significance of these facts in the management of our mission schools. That children come to our schools from homes where adequate sanitary habits and standards are not inculcated, added to the fact that India above all countries regards the teacher as a sacred person embodying the functions of instructor, parent, guardian, doctor, and, above all, religious guide, places a tremendous responsibility upon those who take charge of these schools.

In India, the prayer, "from plague, pestilence, and famine, Good Lord, deliver us," does not require a stimulated imagination, as with us. It is a very heavy burden of responsibility that is carried by our heads of mission schools with over-crowded dormitories, little possibility of segregation, and an under-

staffed condition. Whenever cholera breaks out in a neighboring village, such precautionary measures as are possible must be taken at once. Suddenly, however, a morning may dawn when it is found that cholera has descended upon the school. Possibly there are three cases on the first day, and two little boys die before evening. After a very anxious three weeks' fight, the infection may be mastered, and the cause traced to some earthen cooking-pots that had been bought recently at a near-by village where the disease was active. Or it may be a woman had washed the clothes of a cholera patient at the common well, and the germs went down with the bucket and rope.

III

However, through the activities of Government, missions, and the beginnings of social service on the part of college students, a progress, even if slow, is being made. A popular conscience with respect to sanitation is being developed. In many places, at the approach of plague, the people already begin to clean up in their own houses, although one may not observe much change on the outside. Beds are sunned more regularly, and an effort is made to be sanitary. Willingness to vacate houses entirely on the approach of plague is increasing. Recent experiments indicate that the demand for quinine, the known specific for malaria, is likely to increase enormously during the next few years. More and more attention is being given to the appointment of sanitary committees in towns, to water-supply and drainage systems, to special plague and cholera

staffs, to traveling dispensaries, and to malaria and tuberculosis campaigns.

Consistent efforts through vaccination have been made against smallpox. The marked success of these efforts, even when a poorly paid agency was used, ought to encourage every lover of India. Furthermore, forces emanating from Christianity are freeing the minds from inhibiting fears which in many cases are more harmful than the diseases themselves. Instead of attributing the ravages of disease to fate or buttressing passivity in the belief that it is all due to sins committed in a previous existence, some people—that is, those who hear of Him—are coming to believe in a Father whose purposes are love. God does not want His children overcome by sin; does He mean that they should be overcome by disease? Should we not work together with Him for the day when disease shall be conquered?

IV

In turning to consider India's material development, we need to remember that it is an exceedingly difficult matter to compare with fairness the economic conditions of two countries and to determine the relation of these conditions to general happiness. Certain facts, however, are available. If per capita wealth of India be taken as 1, that of Japan would be 3.7; Canada, 18.5; the United Kingdom, 22.8; and the United States, 27.9. The number of landlords in the United Provinces (one of the most densely populated areas) whose incomes exceed 20 pounds a year is about 126,000 out of a population of 48,000,000.¹

¹*Report on India Constitutional Reforms*, p. 112.

In the Deccan, inquiries as to expenditures considered necessary by the people themselves per family of five gave Rs.¹ 142 for food; Rs. 48 for clothing; other expenses, Rs. 10; making an annual total of Rs. 200.² In some areas people speak of poverty as their "mother."

Owing to the introduction of railways, the price of Indian-grown wheat is fixed by the Chicago stock market so that the simple village people can no longer afford to eat a grain that their more prosperous foreign brothers want; hence they eat the cheaper pulses. That there is a terrible amount of actual hunger in Indian villages during certain months before the harvest is a fact beyond dispute.

Some lowcaste villagers near Benares said that they ate only once in two days for a month or two in the cold weather before the *Rabi* (winter) harvest when they get the pulses and barley. But in the hot, dry months they gorged themselves at marriage feasts. When asked why they did not save up for the lean season before harvest, they replied that it would all be taken up for interest and rent. "We live in fear—fear of the money lender, fear of the landlord's agent, fear of the police." With false interest and extorted land assessments, they felt that they would never be able to get any benefit from saving.

An extended tour among the villages leaves one with the impression of poorness, of life reduced to the barest necessities of existence, of men, women, and children escaping starvation but living below a

¹At normal exchange rate a rupee is worth about 33 cents.

²*Report on India Constitutional Reforms*, p. 136.

level of most meager comfort. Some missionaries who spend their lives among the villages are not most impressed with India's aspiration after the Infinite. They would acknowledge that souls like Tagore may be found among the leisure class and in sequestered corners, but they are almost tempted to doubt the existence of a soul among the masses of the village working class. Listen to the conversation going on in a village. Every other word refers to *pice* (their smallest coin) or food. The supreme concern of the people during nine tenths of a villager's waking hours is to meet the demand of his stomach and his children's stomachs. How to pay his rent; the price of grain and cloth; whether he can pay the interest on the loan he took last year for his seed; or whether with heavy mortgages already on his property he can get an additional loan to replace an ox that has died—these are the villager's pressing problems.

V

What are the causes of this unsatisfactory situation? One cause is agrarian indebtedness. Over 200,000,000 of India's population are engaged in agriculture. These are scattered among 700,000 small villages. Suppose we look into one of these villages near Poona. A systematic investigation will disclose 111 families, with a population of 556, and a total debt of Rs. 13,314 upon which there is an annual charge of Rs. 2,592—a crushing load demanding one fourth of the total profit from the land. The weight of social customs makes the desire for money on certain occasions overwhelming. Almost

a year's income may be spent in entertaining guests at a wedding or some other domestic ceremony. Man is a social animal the world over, and India has fixed on marriage as the great occasion of relieving life's humdrum by an elaborate entertainment of friends and relatives. The dowry system, where it prevails, works like a perpetual nightmare.¹ An extravagant desire for jewelry is general, for it is a sign of respectability. Jewelry is also India's form of life insurance for the benefit of women in case their husbands should die, because it is the only kind of property a woman can inherit. Unlike our form of insurance, it keeps the capital tied up and idle. It is as natural for the people to live in debt as for a fish to live in water. Once a debt is incurred, the extortionate rate of interest tends to keep the unfortunate person bound. Year after year the money lender draws the string tighter, till ornaments are pawned, property mortgaged, and even future crops pledged. Cases are known where serfdom for debt has descended to the third generation. This not only leads to a hopeless economic condition, but paralyzes a man's will and energy until he sinks down into a state of resigned fatalism.

Another cause of backward agricultural conditions is the minute fragmentation of land. If a father has three sons and three plots of land, each plot, in order to avoid partiality, will be divided into three parts when the time comes to partition the property. In this way an acre of land is worked in as many as nineteen different pieces. A man has to go forth in all directions to find his small and scat-

¹See page 91.

tered holdings, varying from a half to a hundredth of an acre. One man has been known to till fifty such plots. This manifestly gives rise to many hindrances; it renders supervision of labor difficult, implements have to be carried from one plot to another, thereby wasting time and making impossible the use of any but light and portable tools, an excessive amount of land is lost in boundaries, and any effort to improve stock is thwarted. Before capital and modern methods can be widely applied to Indian agriculture, someone must study the Hindu laws of property or, from the experience of European countries and Japan in restripping land, suggest a remedy for this mammoth handicap.

Other causes of agricultural regression are ignorance, resulting in inefficiency; lack of medical and sanitary science, resulting in sickness, physical incapacity, dependence, and premature death; an increasing consumption of liquor; laziness, leading many to stop work when their boxes are filled with grain and to start working only when they are empty; and hopelessness, arising from various forms of oppression such as all surplus being taken away. Only the spirit of Christ can crowd out such oppression either in India or in America.

VI

Agricultural methods undoubtedly can be improved. In going about India it is interesting to notice the various century-old methods used in raising the priceless water for the fields from the three or four million wells. Experts confess that they cannot greatly improve these picturesque, old

methods. But the modern oil engine—cheap, simple, efficient—has proved its suitability to Indian conditions. Already the engine has begun to familiarize the wealthier farmers with the advantages of employing better tools and appliances.

One great difficulty is the shortness of time the farmer has to prepare his land and to sow his seed. The land for wheat and other winter crops has to be plowed during a break in the rains. In normal years the breaks are few and short, so that with slow bullocks and wooden plows the necessary quality and quantity of work cannot be done. A suitable motor plow would do the work eighteen times as fast, and in some places these are already operating. But when labor is so cheap and interest so high, the beginning must be made with the lightest, cheapest plows and work up gradually as wages rise and interest falls.

On the old-fashioned, open threshing floors there is loss from insects, vermin, and weather. Threshing and winnowing are tedious and wasteful. Valuable suggestions certainly can be made in regard to seed selection, breeding, the use of manures, the rotation of crops, fodder raising and storing, and new staples for growing. The introduction of agricultural machinery will release the lower class of laborers and thus make more possible industrial advance.

The Indian farmer seems wretchedly conservative, but let us get his point of view. He will admit that the new sugar-cane introduced by the Agricultural Department is better, but it is softer, and the jackals eat it. Why not build fences then? But this is too big and expensive a step to seem attractive.

It is against his religion to inoculate his cattle—he would rather see them die. The iron sugar mill works with far less noise, power, and loss than the old variety, but it blackens the juice. Why not clean it, then? But again this appears to be too much trouble. The native custom is to transplant five blades of rice together. The Agricultural Department has been urging single transplantation as a means of saving four fifths of the seed. But the farmer argues that the use of the single stock involves a risk of failure; if planting is postponed a month to make single transplantation safer, there is danger of bad weather at the harvest. Suppose you show a new staple crop which admittedly will be more profitable, but requires more work; there are farmers who will reject the plan because their leisure is filled with talking and visiting and singing, and these things they value. You may be able to show that by the use of a certain fertilizer the production of paddy (rice) is increased thirty per cent the first year, twenty per cent the second, and ten per cent the third. But when man is on a bare subsistence basis, he may not be able to make the investment.

Even if the farmer overcomes all obstacles and inertia, and some cooperative society lends the capital, the landlord will probably absorb the increase. A missionary near Benares persuaded a man to sow Pusa wheat. In three years his rent was doubled! The landlord did not see that a small increase from all his tenants would be better than one hundred per cent increase from one. Missionaries are needed for the landlords.

After all, however, the main causes of poverty in India have at one time or another been operative in the West. If we have prospered economically, why should not India? Our own rural individualism and conservatism are proverbial. There are plenty among us who find it easier to cling to old habits than adopt measures of advance. We have our night-schools, correspondence courses, and other devices for popular advance. But not many even of our own people have the ambition and persistence to utilize these means of advance when they are pointed out. Although we know full well that a typewriter gives better results in time and legibility, there are not many of us independent enough to give up the sentiment of longhand in personal and social correspondence. The case for insurance of the right sort has been abundantly established; but do all of our Western folk act accordingly?

We must not imagine, however, that Indian workmen are irrevocably conservative. Singer sewing machines are to be found in almost every tailor's shop in the country. The fly shuttle has been widely adopted in many areas. Adaptations of Western plows are gaining in favor. Some Western tools are usually used by wood and metal workers. One finds them adopting screw-presses for the extraction of oil from seed, rotary methods for the preparation of warp, and the device of the subdivision of labor. They are conservative, but they know their own business fairly well. Many of the so-called improvements suggested to them are really unsuitable. The Indian workmen on the whole are as improvable as our forefathers were.

VII

India has many handicaps to overcome in the realm of industry. There is plenty of capital, and year by year it is increasing, for the ruling passion is still to hoard wealth in the form of gold and silver jewelry. India is notorious as an absorber of bullion. It has been estimated that in a single year India absorbed an amount of silver and gold sufficient to replace the whole of the cotton mills of Bombay and the jute mills of Bengal. It is five times the whole amount spent annually in education. In a year and a half it would provide the 440,000,000 rupees which the irrigation commission reported could be judiciously expended in bringing six million more acres under irrigation.¹

Unfortunately this capital is diffused and can become useful only when placed in the hands of competent and responsible administrators. But this would require an instinct for cooperative effort, an acquaintance with the principles of credit and finance, a feeling of security and trust, and the growth of a class of efficient managers. Such bases of commerce and industry are as yet only slightly developed.

The rapid advance of modern industrialism is bringing its vast problems to India—problems which England faced in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. About the cities, factories and joint stock companies are being rapidly formed—906 new companies were floated in the year 1919-1920. There is as yet no factory population such as exists in Western lands, consisting of persons

¹Chatterton, Alfred, *Industrial Evolution in India*, p. 9.

trained from youth in one particular class of work and dependent on that for a livelihood. The Indian factory hand is primarily an agriculturist whose home remains in his native village. In many cases Indian artisans leave wives and children behind and regularly return to them and to the care of their crops. This plan has the advantage of keeping the laborer independent of the employer during a transition stage. But since housing conditions do not allow the laborer to take his family with him on his migrations, grave moral situations are developing in the cities. These laborers are content with a very low standard of comfort. Speaking generally, an increase in wages results in fewer days' work. As yet they are not stimulated to more regular work and greater efficiency by a yearning for an increased standard of living. In spite of low wages many managers testify that production is cheaper by the high-priced, but more highly skilled Western labor.

There is, however, no inherent reason why Indian labor should be inefficient. Signs of discontent are arising. Influenza and plague have reduced the labor supply and revealed the workman's indispensability. The first Trade Union Congress was held in 1920, although there is probably not a trade union in India over five years old. Strikes are getting common. At one time in Bombay the postal and telegraph men, the gas workers, and tramway employees were all out. Sixteen headlines in a single issue of a leading north India journal pertained to strikes. Even the coolie is learning the secret spell which has made European and American labor a power instead of a commodity.

India's factory law is sadly deficient. But in judging India we have to remember that at the International Labor Conference in Washington sixteen countries were listed as having eight-hour laws, and from that list the United States was missing—such laws not having been passed by certain states. Twenty-one nations make special regulations for the employment of mothers before and after childbirth, and from this list also the United States was missing. Nearly every industrial country forbids the employment in factories of children under fourteen. Here again the United States falls short—along with India.

VIII

The seriousness of India's economic need must be evident for many things depend on its relief. Her death-rate is so large partly because she cannot afford doctors and nurses. In part she is illiterate because she cannot be taxed for sufficient schools and teachers. Adequate recreational facilities, developed social life, good churches, communication with outside forces, and influences making for progress, a host of by-products in culture, education, comfort, and efficiency await a better economic basis. We may well recognize the inadequacy of the totality of earthly conditions, though improved to the utmost, if the soul remains unsatisfied because God is not present in the life. But while men possess bodies, we must help them to create those outward conditions wherein an enlarged mind and soul—among the earliest results of Christian conversion—can best find expression. Would you expect a Chris-

tian society of any proportion to grow up from an indigent outcaste class unless there is a decided improvement in its economic environment induced by outside pressure and consummated by itself?

A surge of questions comes to the Christian thinker in this realm. What are the relative chances of India's being exploited perpetually for the commercial well-being of other nations; of India's copying Western methods so thoroughly that she will become just another in the feverish international group; or of India's developing into an independent national personality maintaining her own distinct character while contributing her share to the service of the world alongside of other nations? Should missions take a part in shaping labor legislation or in directing labor agitation? Should they conduct investigations? Should mission boards assign to India industrial welfare workers? Would as many industrial experts offer their services as physicians do at present? Are we to take our social solutions to India or quietly leave them at home and let India blunder along without the benefit of our experience? As the old village communities break up more and more under the profound influence of labor conditions, who is to help them anticipate the resulting moral strain? Who is to exhibit the ethical and Christian use of machinery and power as a model for this new industrial reign? Who more than Christians can instil the needed knowledge and incentive and hope into India's laboring classes? Can the economic problems of India be solved without a moral change in the hearts of men?

IX

India's educational handicap is very marked. Out of 38,000,000 children of school age in India only about 8,000,000 all told are receiving any kind of an education. Imagine the sad significance of 30,000,000 children growing up absolutely illiterate—one only out of every three boys and one out of every fifteen girls getting to school. In India as a whole only one in seventeen people can read and write. That is, India's literacy percentage is only 5.8 per cent as against 92 per cent in the United Kingdom and 95 per cent in Japan. Three out of four villages have no school.

In India, however, ideas percolate and propagate themselves even below the levels of literacy. One may, therefore, well try to formulate reasons which will seem cogent to a villager as to why he should bother with schools at all. The case is by no means clear to him. You can tell him that if he can read newspapers, he will not be at the mercy of rumor and panic; that if he can get the gist out of a government bulletin, he may be able to save his crop; or that ability to write a letter will free him from going to a professional letter writer when he wants to send a message to his friend who has left the village; that schools would enable him to read the Bible or (what would strongly appeal to his music loving soul) the hymns, and that he could avoid the very common type of cheating indulged in by railway ticket agents who give the wrong ticket to the peasant who cannot read the name of the station on his ticket. Since he cannot do simple accounts, the villager is also at the mercy of the indispensable

money-lender. Furthermore, ignorance is the cause of fear, and modern psychology is revealing how fear drains vitality. Literacy is the key for unlocking the world's treasures of civilization and culture.

However, many of these reasons so obvious to us will not appeal at all to the peasant farmer. With more insight than professional educators often have shown, he sees that the only kind of education offered does not fit a child for the life he must actually lead. Farmers have a prejudice against education—the kind of prejudice that is found in every rural society in the world. They think that the shade and confinement of the schoolroom rob the children of their hereditary vigor for working in the fields under the hot sun, and that school life is liable to wean them away from the village entirely. Moreover, they are so poor that even if they did desire education for their children, they know that little children of six and seven must begin to earn a meal a day and a cloth per year by grazing animals, or they must look after still younger children while the mother is grinding grain or working in the fields. After a child is ten years old, it becomes a real sacrifice to send him to school, for the rural economic system is adjusted to a family's receiving the income of the children. It is hard for us to realize what it would be like to grow up in an environment with no tradition of literacy.

One way of estimating the educational task before India is to note how slow the progress has been. In successive decades the number of males per thousand who could read and write is as follows: 1881, 66; 1891, 87; 1901, 98; 1911, 110. Acts permitting

the introduction of compulsory primary education in local areas have been passed in at least five provinces. But the idea of compulsion with its inevitable concomitant of increased taxation evidently does not appeal to the imagination of local authorities. For although the acts have been on the statute books for several years, very few municipalities have taken advantage of them.

At the other end of the scale are the college students. Year after year hundreds of them go forth in a state of moral and intellectual tension. From their Western education has come a continuous stream of ideas and impulses which are usually at utter variance with their previous ideals of life. Some of these ideals may be good, some bad, for India, and these students are eager to be loyal to all that is best in their own civilization. More than ever before do these men need sympathetic guidance. In the depth of their being there is a still more fundamental need not always acknowledged—the need of a religion that can command the full obedience of heart and mind, and that can fill one with inspiration for the reverence of personality, the brotherhood among all men, and unselfish service beyond one's group. They need what Christ alone can give.

Closely connected with education is the state of communication in a country. We are told that developments in the mechanism of intercourse—railways, telephones, telegraphs, printing presses, photographs, phonographs, etc.,—determine nearly everything that is characteristic of the psychology of modern life. These things make for the expansion of human nature. They make it possible for society

to be organized more and more on the higher faculties of man, on intelligence and sympathy, rather than on authority, caste, and routine.¹ Looking at the state of India's means of communication from several points of view, we see a real handicap. In 1917-18 India had 12 newspapers and periodicals per million inhabitants as opposed to 50 in Japan, 190 in the United Kingdom, and 225 in the United States. Post-office articles (letters, newspapers, and parcels) to the extent of 3.6 per person were circulated in India. The corresponding figures for Japan are 34; for the United Kingdom, 123; for the United States, 136. The telegrams per hundred people per year in India are 6.3 as opposed to 73 in Japan, 154 in Canada, and 198 in the United Kingdom. The numbers of telephones in use per 10,000 inhabitants are as follows: Chicago, 1850; New York, 1170; Montreal, 800; London, 390; Tokyo, 200; Bombay, 4; Calcutta, 3.

X

It is unfortunate that the most outstanding characteristic of Hindu social structure must be placed among India's handicaps. Whenever we think of India, we think of caste, and caste is a tremendous drag on progress. It is very hard to find any analogy for caste in our Western life. We may recall the closely interwoven social texture of Europe in the Middle Ages—clergy and laity, feudal baron and feudal squire, yeoman and serf, burgher and apprentice, master and servant. Everything was ordered and regulated whether by birth or custom.

¹Cf. Cooley, C. N., *Social Organization*, p. 81.

Villeinage bound down the medieval serf to the soil by birth. Men and women were born to a certain position, and the system exercised very large control over man, woman, and child. Or we may notice how many an Englishman thinks a tradesman cannot be a gentleman and will absolutely refuse to dine with one. Many of our trade unions are limited to sons of members, and each is kept strictly to his part of the job—the shoemaker must not repair, and the cobbler must not make.

None of our Western class or religious distinctions, however, are buttressed with that philosophical justification for separateness and unbrotherliness that makes a Hindu glory or acquiesce in his status. To the orthodox, the different castes are not simply different classes, but separate creations from essentially different parts of Brahma—his mouth, arms, thighs, and feet. The universally accepted doctrines of *Karma* and transmigration provide the philosophy of the system. According to the former, life here is measured out to us, both in quality and quantity, to expiate exactly the deeds of a previous existence. Thus a Brahman is a Brahman because of the noble deeds of his previous existence. A Sudra has merited his low position because of past shortcoming. The classes in society are not fluid as with us, for an actual soul-difference divides them. In order to be re-incarnated into a better status after death, it is essential to conform to the duties and obligations of the status in which one now is. Hence the roots of aspirations for this life are cut. Not only may the different groups not interdine or intermarry, but the basis for real friendship and inter-

course is not there. It is not surprising that the most ardent nationalists are declaring that caste must go. Rabindranath Tagore says, "The regeneration of the Indian people, to my mind, directly and perhaps solely depends upon the removal of this condition."

If it were not so tragic, it would be amusing to see manifestations of the caste spirit on every side in India. A little five year old Brahman boy in one of our mission kindergartens was given clay with which to model. He refused to touch it. "The potter is of low caste." He could not resist watching the others, however. The next day he poked the clay with his finger. The fourth day he took the clay with the rest, and nothing was said about the potter. A pious Vaishnavite matron will not eat with her own children for fear of becoming unacceptable to the Almighty. A stable servant will sweep up the stall, but will be fined by his caste if he also sweeps your driveway. There are hosts of taboos. One must not marry or interdine outside one's sub-caste. Since there are over two thousand of these exclusive compartments some are of necessity small. Cases have been known where men have had to wait for their wives to be born. A progressive father in a limited and backward caste has to face the practical certainty that if he educates his daughter, she will have to marry an uneducated man.

Religion tends to be reduced to the observance of countless caste rules. If a man will only observe these, he may believe anything he wishes and still remain a Hindu. If he should be excommunicated by his caste, his relatives would shun him, the mar-

riage of his children would become almost impossible, and he very likely would be boycotted in business and socially. Knowing the certainty with which breach of caste law is punished, a person tends to dread more the taking of water from the hand of a lower caste man than he does some ethical wrong. Furthermore, the caste spirit takes possession of the mind and tends to encourage closed groups. This makes cooperation very difficult and permits a powerful separative force within the nation.

Yet even in regard to a custom like caste, so universally condemned by Westerners and increasingly frowned upon by most modern Indian leaders, there are aspects of relief to the Indian heart. Caste has enabled people within narrow limits to unite and co-operate; it has formed one agency of social control providing certain moral restraints. To some extent it has acted as a system of trade-guilds providing for division of labor. Caste backing is a real support in times of famine or misfortune, and in this whole conception of group loyalty we see a finer side of the caste system. The Hindu gets with the caste system a sense of cosmic order. Disasters and inequalities in this life do not perplex him because they are the merited results of deeds in a previous existence. People are born into the various walks of life according to their desert, and by faithfulness to the ceremonial and caste observances of that sphere, they qualify for a higher life. Social position is not determined, they say, by wealth or power, but automatically by the stage of one's inner development. What Western nation unquestionably

gives the highest rank, not to trader or soldier or ruler, but to spiritual leaders such as the Brahmans have been regarded? If you grant their presuppositions, caste life takes on dignity and ethical significance. One of the causes of the failure of efforts against caste has been the refusal to admit the elements of utility in it.

The caste system like a great glacier moves through India, melting temporarily before some obstacle only to harden again as it slowly rounds some corner of its progress. People will travel in the same coach or take water from the same hydrant because it is manifestly impossible to have two thousand railway lines or water systems. Similarly, aerated water, tinned biscuit, and patent medicines have been accepted. Intelligent, educated men more and more refuse to be bound by the taboo against interdining and crossing the ocean. A government report described a sensational pollution case in Calicut where a Western-trained Indian doctor, who happened to be of a low caste, was prosecuted for polluting the village tank by walking too near it and was in the end acquitted. But one can hardly herald these adjustments as signs that caste is disappearing. In spite of many concessions to convenience in non-essentials, caste remains almost untouched in essentials. The glacier must come into a different climate to be melted away. Realizing how India can never come to her own highest self-realization or to her greatest contribution as a partner in world service until caste is abolished, how would you attempt to help her overcome it? Would you attack the philosophical presuppositions at the basis of caste?



WAITING

Many old Hindu women spend their last years in a ceaseless round of religious observances and wait beside their shrines for death to come to them so that their bodies may be cremated at a holy place. There is religious devotion here that should find truer and more satisfying expression.



A GLIMPSE OF SOUTHERN HINDUISM

A shrine devoted to the worship of the snake god. In the background is a pool where ceremonial ablutions are performed, and rising above all is a "temple" or "sanctuary" of the snake god.

Or would you dwell on the unsocial results of its working? More important still is this question: Would you be able to outline the constructive Christian principles which could be applied to transform Indian society?

XI

India is undeniably handicapped by the position she gives to women. In the pressure of the modern world, India must make a change here or else lag far behind. Let us, however, approach this question with a humble sense of our own deficiencies. Twenty-one different nations gave votes to women before they could be granted in the American democracy. Women workers in America have many a grievance in being refused admission to unions or in being refused a charter if they organize separately. All around the world woman is the depressed sex. Very few even among ourselves have begun clearly to vision, not a man-made world or even a woman-made world—but a world made just human.

Belief in woman's inferiority is a prepossession of the man-mind in India. Hindu lawgivers unani-
mously declare that women can never have any independence, but must always be in subjection to father, husband, or son. The essential inferiority of women is brought out in many a passage of Hindu doctrine, such as: "Day and night must women be kept in dependence by the male members of the family. They are never fit for independence. They are as impure as falsehood itself. That is a fixed rule."¹ This immemorial teaching has been accepted

¹Manu IX, 2, 3, 18.

by the women. The lower caste women have more freedom than those of the higher castes. They may go about from village to village with far less restraint. They are free to remarry. They work for pay, as higher caste women do not, and so are economically valuable to their husbands, and therefore less liable to divorce. The prosperous caste wife who bears sons is immensely better off than those lower down, but the unsuccessful high-caste wife who has no son is immensely more unhappy than the lowcaste woman.

The desolation of Indian widowhood awakens our pity. The widow's lot is a hard one. Especially do our hearts go out to the pathetic little child widows, so numerous and so helpless. To see the bright jewels and garments suddenly removed and the head shaven, to realize the inevitable future of isolation and drudgery or shameless life, is a terrible shock. However, one may inquire into the subject far enough to discover that, strangely enough, all widows do not have a rebellious spirit. For many widows the whole ideal of self-respecting womanhood is such that they would not want to be jeweled or dressed in fine linen after their lords had passed away. A law legalizing the remarriage of widows has been in force since 1856, but relatively few have taken advantage of it. Hindu women who have not come under Western influence have an intense dislike of the idea of a second union. Even when reformers arrange for second husbands, nine out of every ten widows refuse to remarry as being contrary to the age-long ideal that marriage is for eternity and that for one woman there is one man

only. Hindus at their best revere these widows. Widows at their best renounce the world and devote themselves wholly to meditation on God and service to man. If wealthy, they will provide for digging a village tank for water or for building a temple or for feeding the poor. This is the ideal—by no means always the practice—that lessens the harshness of this custom to an Indian. Indians themselves acknowledge evils and abuses in widowhood. Reformers make this one of their central causes. But we only weaken the effectiveness of our remonstrance if we fail to see the gleam upon this custom as seen from the other side.

In order to appraise aright the position of women in India, it is necessary to understand the joint family system which has prevailed for almost twenty-five hundred years and constitutes one of the most marked and characteristic institutions in the world. It is patriarchal in form. The sons and grandsons bring their wives to the family home, so that cousins are as intimate almost as brothers. As many as fifty individuals and three generations may thus be living together. All salaries and incomes, no matter how varied in amount, are brought to the common purse. Such families will combine to send one boy to the university, hoping that his future income will swell the common funds. Those who are entitled to share in the family property may claim all their necessary expenses from its income. Such expenses would include maintenance for the individual member, his wife and children, for all usual and proper religious observances, and for the marriage expenses of his daughters. But the right of mainte-

nance goes further than this. It extends to those members of the joint family who, on account of any bodily or mental defect, have been disqualified from inheriting, to illegitimate sons, concubines, and widows of members of the family.

This duty of a householder to maintain the dependent members of his family has always been recognized as a paramount obligation, even religious sacrifices being supposed to lose their effect if thereby a man deprives himself of the means of maintaining his dependents. This is one place where an Indian regards his system as distinctly superior to that of the West, for he is inclined to shudder at the way we wash our hands of responsibility except for the nearest of blood kin. He prides himself that no "united charities" are necessary. On the other hand, the system may induce some members to be lazy, it may sap the roots of industry and enterprise, and may lead a successful man to be proud of the number of dependents attached to his household. The oldest male is naturally head of the family. A full college professor, for example, may still be a minor in the family with no property of his own, pooling his entire income. The head mother holds sway over all the home economy.

Such a system is marked by the solidarity of the group, as compared with the far greater individualism of the West. Individual initiative, independence, and responsibility are not so much developed as with us; and lack of privacy, jealousy, backbiting, and intrigue are often a result of the system. On the other hand, loyalty, service, and a sense of responsibility for fellow-members of the family are

often encouraged by the joint family. In these homes you will frequently find women marked by poise and dignity, sympathetic and hospitable to a degree. The vast majority are not restless with their lot, knowing no other as possible or right. But what peace they have is secured by the negation of abundant life.

A little reflection will show how the individual thus becomes submerged in the family; life decisions become family affairs; and the individual woman has a deep sense of solidarity and ever-present support. Hence, where the joint family is breaking up under the influence of Western standards, girls are becoming heads of families without being able to rely as in former days on the advice of older relatives, and widows have no longer the same care and protection.

In a marked way this family interest dominates each marriage in the household. For there is also a longitudinal solidarity in the family—the forefathers and the present living members are bound together so that the good of the one is related to the good of the other. The welfare of the family is dependent upon the condition of ancestors, and their welfare in turn is entirely dependent upon a certain simple annual ceremony (the offering of water and rice) which can be performed only by a male heir.

Once adopt this belief, and the pressure on making sure of a male heir becomes tremendous. The entire welfare of your whole family connection would depend upon it. The marriage of your son would not be a matter of his individual choice. It would be the concern of all. Its object would be to

get a male heir who could continue the essential ceremonies. It would be not a matter of falling in love and courtship, but a serious family duty arranged by the parents. Hence in order to make more certain of marriage and of offspring, marriage is pushed down to a younger age so as to take advantage of the first approach of puberty. To marry and have a son is a debt which a man owes to his ancestry. To be barren is an exceedingly serious thing. The unhappy woman who has no child is sometimes driven away, or runs away because of bad treatment, and then the village will not have her back again. If she has gone wrong, they will not let her own mother take her back. Believing that an heir is essential to the welfare of the whole group, a barren wife not infrequently suggests that a second wife be brought into the household so that a son may be assured. It is against this elemental religious background that we must think of child marriage and polygamy.¹

XII

India's greatest handicap is Hinduism itself. The masses hold on to social customs which sorely need reform, but it is not enough simply to say that they are conservative. The root of the trouble is their religion. Reforms go hard because they cut across the spirit and letter of the traditional faith. For over twenty centuries certain beliefs have been ingrained—that it is sinful not to marry a daughter

¹Vivid pictures are given of family life in North India by "An Elderly Spinster" in *The Atlantic*, Vol. 121: 43-49, 601-614; 122: 467-79; 127: 180-8. See also *Asia*, July, 1921, pp. 575-80.

before puberty; that marriage is for eternity; that a widow who remarries wrongs her husband; that the ancestors will fall from heaven and the whole family be destroyed unless the proper ceremonies are regularly performed; and that woman is essentially inferior to man. Great Hindu thinkers of the past did not question these positions. It is not that the father of a virgin widow is callous to his little daughter's plight. But he together with all his caste friends, relatives, and womenfolk firmly believe that their present-day social customs are based on the *Shastras*, and that the *Shastras* are supernatural, God-revealed, unchangeable, and that their violation is sinful. Many are suppressing their innate sense of right and wrong on the authority of sacred scriptures. The Indian's conscience is as real a thing as ours, but the Hindu speculative system makes the appeal to conscience far less powerful than when through Christ we are brought to see the holiness of God. While in modern times many educated Hindus have given up some of these beliefs, child marriage continues in order to keep the girls safe.

Thus the masses are impervious to reform. Their practice is determined by religion, not by individual conscience and reason. Suppose you get them to acknowledge that their uneducated women can talk of little but jewels, needlework, clothes, and children, and cannot contribute what otherwise they might to the welfare of their country. Suppose you do lay bare the fact that perpetual widowhood combined with child marriage makes marriages of widowers of forty or fifty or even of seventy years with

girls of twelve by no means uncommon; suppose doctors do point out the results on the child wife of the pitiless incontinence of the remarried man; suppose you do show that child marriage in general takes away five years of happy girlhood, prevents all but the most elementary education, leads to physical degeneration, and constitutes one of the saddest things in Indian life. These arguments are beside the point, for the position taken by reformers of necessity implies the displacement of the essentially Hindu foundation of the family, although few acknowledge this even to themselves. Even many reformers need to be convinced that the reform of social customs really involves the repudiation of principles which gave rise to these customs. Until the roots in Hinduism are cut, social reform will be faltering, half-hearted, and inconsistent. Conservatives are quite right in persisting in the feeling that the adoption of reforms is essentially disloyal to Hinduism. To ask them to postpone the marriage of a daughter or to have a widow remarried is to ask them to do something against their religion—or, if they do not know the relevant texts, against the popular ideal of woman's positions and purpose, which their religion has fostered.

We must leave to more extended treatises¹ any detailed evaluation of India's faiths in comparison with Christianity. Here only a few observations can be made. In spite of the saying common in India, that all religions are the same, the fact is that religions differ fundamentally. Buddhism and Jain-

¹J. N. Farquhar's *Crown of Hinduism* and J. B. Pratt's *India and its Faiths* are especially recommended.

ism deny the existence of God, while Hinduism, Islam, and Christianity affirm God's existence as the center of their systems. Hinduism, Jainism, and Buddhism teach transmigration of souls and Karma, while Islam and Christianity repudiate these doctrines. Christianity considers sin an act of the will. Philosophic Hinduism considers sin as ignorance of the Divine immanence, while popular Hinduism regards sin as an infraction of rites and ceremonies. Christianity considers the individual as a responsible person capable of choosing the good or the evil, capable of working with God or against Him. India's highest thought—the Vedanta—pictures the soul as so dependent on God or so lost in Him that there is practically no place left for individuality and genuine responsibility and freedom. India's religions have tended to focus thought on self and on the acquisition of merit; while Christianity centers the thought on Christ and leads men to forget themselves in devoted service to their fellow-men. Hinduism and Christianity come to grips on the nature and character of God. He is likened in Hinduism to a lamp set in a house which neither commands anything nor forbids and knows not what each one is busy with. This is worlds apart from the Christian view of God. If religion is taken as man's search for God, then India stands out as preeminently religious; but, if religion be also taken as God's outreach toward men, then India has not yet glimpsed the most precious aspect of religion.

Hinduism cannot meet India's pressing modern needs. In so far as her people yield to India's age-long thought that this world is unreal, and that we

are to be released from it through meditation and mystical ecstasy, they are unfitted to grapple seriously with the problems of economic, social, and political development. Overemphasis on other-worldliness leaves one indifferent to conditions of life in this world. Hinduism of necessity assigns the work of town and factory to what it considers an unspiritual type, since it plainly counts that aspiration to be highest which plans escape from life's contacts and life's desires. Hinduism may dictate the detailed ordering of one's life, but since it neither sets before its followers a great social goal, nor inspires them with hope and power for its attainment, Hinduism cannot touch India's present problems.

It is, however, when one sees the religion of the great mass of common people that the pathos of Hinduism sinks in upon one. Fear permeates their religion. A mother deceives the gods by calling her child "rubbish heap" or "crazyman," or she disguises her baby by blacking its eyes. Women weave ugly blotches into silk scarfs to avoid the evil eye. Propitiation of the gods lies back of an immense amount of popular religion. This fear, which is often the child of ignorance, will inevitably hinder a nation's progress.

Moreover, one is filled with indignation at those who designed and who permit to continue through the centuries those obscene panels on some of Hinduism's greatest temples and idol cars. As one sees groups of small boys smirking before these regrettable carvings, the severe words of Jesus about offending little ones surge to one's thought.

Another blot on popular Hinduism, especially in

the south, is its toleration of the system of temple girls. Villages can be found made up wholly of those who have been dedicated to the gods, and for whom there exist well recognized customs and regulations. Very commonly Western women traveling in India have to shrink from the gaze of the priests who frequent the more popular temples. These are ugly facts—facts which show that the most ardent devotee of neo-Hinduism has but to go to India to see how inadequate has been the dynamic behind fine ideas. In facing them we must remember that Hinduism is a protean religion. It is exceedingly difficult to define it. Even thoughtful Hindus have had to fall back on the statement, "A Hindu is one who calls himself a Hindu." Good and bad come under the same name, and, as we have already seen, there is a brighter, higher side to Hinduism. But Hinduism at its highest tends to be complacent over child-widows, nautch girls, and outcastes. We believe in meditation; but flatly repudiate a kind that is never disturbed by evils which destroy a people. Facts such as these sadly reveal Hinduism's lack of ethical dynamic. Against the same evils in the West, Christianity is intolerant and militant. The greatest tragedy of India has been Hinduism's failure to bring peace and joy and power to the millions who have confidently trusted and followed it.

There is a world conscience developing at whose bar India's social customs are increasingly judged. Furthermore, modern education will undermine religious beliefs such as we have been considering in this section. But something greater is needed. The Indian people need a new God—the God Jesus re-

vealed to men. They need the Way, and the reconciliation wrought through Him. They need constructive principles as a basis for the newer, freer life. They need a religion whose clear teaching, far from being diametrically opposed to reform as is Hinduism, will lead them ever forward. Friends in the West may as well realize that mere humanitarian service and uplift do not strike at the root of the problem. A person with the Hindu's readiness to subordinate the temporal for the eternal is not going to break what he conceives to be a Divine command out of consideration of mere expediency or as a result of calculation of gain or loss. But if their loyalty can be won to Jesus' way of living and thinking, reforms will naturally follow. The passionate impulse of human sympathy with the wronged and afflicted springs up with certainty from a living touch with Him.

Just here lies the essential difference between India's religions and our own. For Hinduism has no parallel to the historical reality of Jesus of Nazareth. One who had himself once been a Hindu and was lecturing on the good in Hinduism nevertheless spoke of it in comparison with Christ as "a sixteen candle power incandescent light as against the sun." It is Jesus Christ, God's greatest gift to our world, who must come to India in all His winsomeness and saving power. Not till then will the root of India's handicaps be removed.

Prayer

WE praise Thee, O Father, for the confidence Thou hast given us through Jesus Christ that it is Thy will that not even the least in India should perish; that none should be struggling on with bare existence or possessed by fear or left to their own resources orphaned from their Father. We rejoice that there is no inherent racial or physical reason why India must permanently remain handicapped in life.

¶ We pray for the real wealth of India—not for gems and silks and spices—but for her men and women and little children. May they have strong bodies, having learned to be obedient to Thy laws; clear minds free from all superstition and degrading fear; adequate means for every necessity, drawing intelligently upon Thy rich provision in soil and river, mountain and sea. Above all, increase the number of glad, free, creative Christian spirits in that land, who shall take up the great and compelling task for India in an ever deepening friendship with Christ and the conscious indwelling of His Spirit.

¶ Be, we pray Thee, with all of whatever faith who are working for the removal of abuses and the purification of public and private life. Enlighten especially the Indian Church to see that in Christ it has a gospel for the whole of man's nature. Empower this Church as it seeks to build up high standards of life, and stir its members with the vision of a normal, wholesome, and Christian life for all of India. *Amen.*

CHAPTER THREE

Striving and Aspiration

A NUMBER of questions now present themselves. What attitude does India take toward her own regeneration? If the forces of richer life are brought to bear upon her, does the initiative in reform pass to her? In other words, is India a hopeless and inert drag on progress; or may we take hope and courage from the kind of response given to friendly service from without? If these questions can be satisfactorily answered, it ought to increase our estimate of India. In this chapter we will limit ourselves to these forms of response which have not yet expressed themselves in formal Christian ways. Many of them illustrate the wide and more or less unconscious penetration of Christian ideas and the permeation of Christian principles in the customs and institutions of the land. We will take up later the mass movements to Christianity and the Indian Church which are most significant evidences of India's awakening and response under external influence.¹

I

First we will look at India's aspirations within the realm of social reform. We generally think of modern missions in India as starting in 1792 when William Carey began his stimulating work, and 1800 is roughly taken as the time when the West began

¹Chapters V and VI.

its effective interpenetration of India. Soon the influence of the West and especially of Christianity produced the father of modern reform in India—Ram Mohan Roy. This reformer sprang from very high-caste and orthodox Brahman parentage. As a lad of twelve in Bengal he was married by his parents, but his girl-wife soon died. Later he was married to two girls.

His awakening began with a revolt against idolatry. Even for the sake of his mother he would not do homage to the idols, and as a result, while still young, he was asked not to darken his father's door again. He became conscious of the abuses and corrupt practices that had gathered about Hinduism and, in spite of the opposition of the rigidly conservative Hindu orthodoxy, held that India's rejuvenation would come through Western culture and modernized education. Hence he was a great help to Alexander Duff, the great Scotch missionary educator, in starting his school in Calcutta.

Besides fellowship with Duff, Ram Mohan Roy became acquainted in middle life with William Carey and the Serampore group. The friendship deepened, and in this way he began a serious study of Christianity. Though he never became a Christian, he was a devout seeker after truth. After searching the literature of Sanskrit, Arabic, Greek, and Hebrew, he wrote: "The consequence of my long and uninterrupted researches into religious truth has been that I have found the doctrines of Christ more conducive to moral principles and better adapted for the use of rational beings than any other which have come to my knowledge."

It will be remembered that William Carey after witnessing a case of *sati*—the burning of a widow on the funeral pyre of her husband—went home with such a ghastly paleness on his face that his servant at once inquired, “Art thou bitten by a serpent, Sahib?” He bore through life an indelible picture of that long, yearning look which the widow cast about before lying down beside the dead body of her husband, to be covered with dry leaves and rushes upon which melted butter had been poured. The shouts of the people drowned out any cry from the blazing pile, but he could not help seeing how the bamboos held across the pyre by the men suddenly moved as though some strong power had thrust at them from beneath. And then all was quiet. It is not strange that Carey should have made unwearied efforts to persuade Government to abolish the terrible custom, or that Ram Mohan Roy should have been the outstanding Indian leader in the agitation which at last led Government in 1829 to make it illegal. Against other wrongs of womanhood as he saw them, Ram Mohan Roy boldly spoke out.

His influence was felt even more in the realm of religion, his outstanding work here being the founding of the Brahmo Samaj. This was the beginning of religious liberalism, for in the trust deed of its first building, it was stipulated that therein there should be no idolatry or animal sacrifice, but otherwise it should be open to all.

The Brahmo Samaj has not been marked by widespread growth, inasmuch as in 1911 it had only 183 branches and a little over 5,000 members. But it has proved to be one of the most influential of the



IN THE TRAIL OF INDIA'S INDUSTRIALIZATION

(1) Workers' huts which have sprung up around a factory where there is no provision for proper housing.

(2) A section of a model settlement for factory laborers in Cawnpore. An American social service worker has been assigned to this settlement by one of the missions.



A MOTOR CAR CLINIC

A group of villagers near Vellore gathered about Dr. Ida Scudder and her Indian Christian Assistant.

many modern religious movements which have been stimulated in India in the past century. Its worship throughout has been theistic, and it has taken a firm stand against idolatry. Breaking of caste is made a condition of membership in most of its branches. It was the first Indian body to take up the fight against child marriage. As the climax of its policy of reform, a special marriage act was secured for Brahmans, abolishing early marriage by fixing the legal minimum age for girls at fourteen, and sanctioning widow and intercaste marriages.

Just as the Brahmo Samaj is immensely indebted to Christianity, so the Christian Church in India has been not a little helped by the Brahmo Samaj. It has done much to bring people to an unprejudiced study of Christ and to consider seriously the truth of a belief in a single God. It would be to many a source of surprising uplift to attend one of the services of dignified and reverent worship at the Brahmo Samaj. The writer well remembers the unhurried prayer consisting mainly of praise and adoration. Also must he bear witness to valued friendships with many of its members. One admires their high regard for education and the position given to their women.

The Prarthana Samaj (Prayer Society) was started in Bombay in 1867 in close relationship to the Brahmo Samaj by one who had been deeply influenced by John Wilson, a missionary of the Church of Scotland. This society has been less radical than the Brahmo Samaj, clinging closer to Hinduism. And yet, in general, its members are theists, opposing idolatry and urging the abandonment of caste,

the introduction of widow remarriage, encouragement of education for girls, and the abolition of child marriage. One would be proud to have the privilege of introducing a visitor from the West to any of its leaders, six or seven of whose well-known names come readily to mind.

II

Very different in its temper and objective is the Arya Samaj, largest and most powerfully organized of modern reform movements in India. It was founded by Swami Dayanand, a man of unusual gifts and great learning, and now has 25,000 members. When a boy of fourteen, Dayanand became disgusted with idolatry. After a three days' fast, he had been taken by his father to the temple of Siva. The powerful god was supposed to give great blessings to those who out of devotion abstained from food and sleep at that time. However, during the night's long vigil, the temple servants and even some of the lay devotees were discovered to be asleep, while Dayanand, expecting great things of the god and in obedience to his father's command, kept awake. Near morning he saw a mouse crawl up to the offerings and nibble at them, even running across the god's body. This proved to be a turning point in the boy's life. It became increasingly impossible for him to reconcile the idea of the living, omnipotent God with an image which was allowed to be polluted without the slightest protest.

When he was twenty-one, Dayanand left his home and lived under an assumed name in order to escape the marriage planned by his parents. Two years

later he became a Hindu monk (Sanyasi), thus renouncing home, marriage, property, caste, and a settled life. From this time on he gave himself to the study of Hindu ways of salvation, placing himself under the greatest teachers, and at last becoming an influential master himself.

He founded the Arya Samaj in 1875, with the watchword "Back to the Vedas," and with the purpose of defending and reviving the ancient faith of India, after having purged it from acknowledged superstition. A parallel has been drawn¹ between Martin Luther and Swami Dayanand. The analogy seems not unfitting as one reads of the epoch-making address fearlessly given to a learned audience in Benares four years before his death. He tried to prove from the Vedas that polytheism was a monstrous fraud devised by blind priests; that caste was designed to be only a scientific division of labor on the basis of inherited and developed skill; that Hindu women were free and the equals of men, entitled to respect and honor and the fullest use of their opportunities; that only those could be called priests who were pure, learned, and industrious; and that social elevation to the highest caste was open to the meanest pariahs.²

In many ways the movement was reactionary and crude. The founder knew very little of Christianity or of Western tradition. India's culture and India's religion wholly absorbed him. Yet, notwithstanding the advocacy of some very objectionable marriage

¹See "Arya Samaj" by H. D. Griswold in Hasting's *Dictionary of Religion*.

²Cf. Bannerjea, D. N., *India's Nation Builders*, p. 80.

customs, he led the Samaj in prohibiting child marriage and in permitting virgin widows to remarry, enduring in his various efforts years of scorn and persecution from his orthodox countrymen. Instead of the usual procedure by which the parties to a marriage do not see each other's face until the actual ceremony, Dayanand suggested at least an exchange of photographs.

The Samaj's ideal for the minimum age of marriage has been definitely set at twenty-five years for boys and sixteen for girls. But this advanced standard is rarely attained. The Aryas carry on extensive educational work including primary and high schools and the largest college in northern India. They provide considerable opportunity for the education of girls, and the seclusion of women is discouraged. A widows' home has been founded, extensive famine relief work has been organized, and orphanages have been established. The Aryas exert a valuable influence in behalf of a belief in one God who is spiritual and personal, strenuously ridicule the conception of polytheism and idolatry, and oppose priestcraft, pilgrimages, and self-torture in the name of religion. Food offerings for the souls of departed relatives are definitely discouraged as animistic survivals. Unlike the individualism of ordinary Hindu worship, they encourage the social worship of God. Theoretically they hold caste as a matter of man's nature and not of his birth. Actually, however, few members have broken with it, and in practice their efforts do not go beyond interdining and intermarriage between near sub-castes. The Arya Samajists are bitter and persistent enemies

of Christianity. The significant thing just here is that this virile society is advocating many a good and constructive policy which used to be urged by missions only. It represents a response which purifies the old, rather than accepts the new.

III

A National Social Conference has been meeting annually at Christmas time since 1888, to which representatives go from every part of India. It has exerted a very powerful influence in the formation of public opinion through the reported discussions of its sessions and the formal resolutions passed. An idea of the stand that the members take and the terms in which they voice their position may be gained from the resolutions passed at their thirty-third Conference (1920). If any Western critic should be inclined to charge them with much talk and few deeds, let him remember how much talk precedes action with reference to our problems of labor and capital.

The Conference is of opinion that the condition of untouchability imposed upon the depressed classes in India ought to be forthwith abolished and that free and unrestricted access should be given these classes to public institutions such as schools, dispensaries, courts of justice conducted for the public benefit and at public expense, and also to public places such as wells, springs, reservoirs, municipal stand-pipes, burning and bathing-ghats, places of amusements and worship, and, further, gives its wholehearted support to all peaceful and just efforts on the part of the depressed classes, to remove their grievances.

The Conference, while expressing its satisfaction at the progress of education of women in this country, strongly urges upon the attention of the public the great and urgent need for greater effort in this direction.

The Conference is of the opinion that the age of consent in the case of girls should be not less than sixteen years.

In the opinion of the Conference, the institution of caste

is detrimental to social and political solidarity and national progress and therefore urges all to make every endeavor towards its abolition.

The Conference welcomes the growing support to the widow remarriage movement in the country and urges upon the public the necessity of starting widow remarriage associations or homes to support the cause.

That in the opinion of this Conference the present methods of charity should be improved and the money at present wasted in feeding and supporting the idle and undeserving beggars should be utilized to start in every district charitable institutions like orphanages, homes for homeless, and infirmaries, to provide for the needs of the really helpless and needy section of the population.

Besides such items of social reform hitherto advocated, the Conference intends henceforth to deal with industrial, economic, and sanitary needs as well. At the close of the Conference the members usually dine together, irrespective of caste, race, or religion. At least three provinces have their own social reform associations, and local conferences representing smaller areas are not infrequent. Mission schools and colleges send forth many graduates who, though still non-Christian, nevertheless have been stimulated to work for bettering India's customs through these associations.

Another powerful and uplifting agency is the *Indian Social Reformer*. For over thirty years this eighteen page weekly has gone forth to coordinate, encourage, and inspire social workers all over India. Often these brave spirits carry on their fight in small towns, fiercely resisted and isolated from kindred spirits. In the *Reformer* they have found an organ that has maintained a remarkably courageous, independent, and high standard for religion, morality, and progress along social and political lines. In general, the position taken by its able editor

would gladden the heart of any Christian.¹ At the top of each issue is the following quotation from William Lloyd Garrison: "I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice. I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—and I will be heard." This is only one illustration of the way in which West and East should ever be cross-fertilizing each other, sharing the inspiration of noble example and character.

The immediate occasion for starting the *Reformer* arose in 1890 when Hindu society throughout India was being rent asunder by discussions of the Age of Consent Act prohibiting a husband from being with his wife before she reaches the age of twelve, and finally passed by the government in 1891. One of its first tasks was to put social reform on a rational basis. Since for the Hindu all customs are religious and receive sanction from their sacred books, discussion had naturally centered too much about the interpretation of Sanskrit texts. For example, the Indian supporters of abolishing sati had attempted to prove that this custom, if not contrary to the Shastras, was at least not prescribed by their sacred books. Also the advocates of the remarriage of Hindu widows felt that they must show on Shastric grounds that such remarriage was permissible. Such arguments inevitably led to endless debates as

¹It would be very helpful if individuals or societies would subscribe for the *Indian Social Reformer* while studying this book. The cost for three months would be five shillings. Address, the *Indian Social Reformer*, Bombay, India. In few ways would an American get a deeper insight into all sides of modern India with so little expenditure of time and money.

to the meaning of ancient texts, instead of making reform a matter of reason based on justice and humanity.

The *Reformer* has also taken a clear-cut position for total abstinence, the abolition of the nautch (employment of dancing girls), the advocacy of a pure private life for public men, and the removal of the prohibitory restrictions by caste on all foreign travel.

IV

A remarkable organization in India embodying the new spirit of service is the Servants of India Society, begun in 1905. Its founder, Mr. G. K. Gokhale, had become at his death in 1915 India's foremost statesman, in whom the people were placing implicit confidence. In part this was due to Mr. Gokhale's ability as an Indian publicist, in part to the abounding enthusiasm with which he gave his talents, his time, his very all in self-dedication to India. With a life thus characterized by sacrifice, study, and service, it is not surprising that he could inspire others to join his brotherhood.

The objects of the Society have been to train young men for the service of India, every member being pledged to devote all his time to public work and taking the following vows at the time of admission: That the country will always be the first in his thoughts and that he will give to her service the best that is in him; that in serving the country he will seek no personal advantage; that he will regard all Indians as brothers and will work for the advancement of all, without distinction of caste or

creed; that he will be content with such provision for himself and his family, if he has any, as the Society may be able to make; that he will devote no part of his energies to earning money for himself; and that he will lead a pure personal life.

A five years' apprenticeship for study and practical work under guidance is required of each member. Those under training receive only Rs. 720 a year. Regular members receive Rs. 900 per year to begin with and never more than Rs. 1,200. In 1919 there were thirteen regular members and five men under training. Practically every member is a university graduate, and after his completion of five years of extra study and preparation, each has become a specialist. Though the Society is but sixteen years old, its small but well-qualified membership has won for itself a remarkably high prestige.

Its work consists in enlightening public opinion through speeches, pamphlets, and newspapers, owned or controlled by the Society; in stimulating young men to make a study of public questions; and in a great variety of practical service—political, social, and educational. The very existence of such a society promises hope for the future of India, and in its thoroughness and spirit of sacrifice should be a stimulus to the Indian Church.

The organizations for reform that have been mentioned are only a fraction of the varied agencies for education, philanthropy, and reform that modern India is producing.¹ Even to list their names would

¹The unique school work of Rabindranath Tagore, the advanced measures introduced by the Gaekwar of Baroda, and various other indigenous efforts are described in *Schools with a Message in India*, Chapters X-XII.

take several pages. The land teems with religious and social conferences and organizations. A study of them shows us what India feels to be her needs and reveals at once the most evident points of contact for any sympathetic help. There have sprung up a hundred orphanages—Hindu and Muhammadan, local temperance societies in great number, famine-relief and plague-relief organizations, and many organizations for the spread of education. Bombay's Infant Welfare Association has passed its first anniversary, successful baby shows have been held in Poona, Delhi, and Lahore, several societies for the protection of children have been organized, and various social service leagues are in operation.

V

Response on the part of India's women to modernizing influences has been veritably surprising within the past fifteen years. Thus far the movement has touched a mere fraction of her 155,000,000 women, but there are literally thousands of them throughout India who have begun to long for a larger life than they have hitherto experienced, and their activities are full of promise. The intense national feeling has made men see that the prosperity of their country demands that their womenfolk be educated, and that widows at least should be trained as teachers, nurses, or doctors, and thus bear their share in the uplift of the land.

During the last decade a wave of the organization of women has passed over the country. Bombay, for example, now has seven different women's societies or clubs, and Bangalore has four. A wom-

en's deputation to the Secretary of State for India and to the Viceroy in 1917 pleaded with Government to take constructive steps to provide training for destitute and enforced widows; to make special provision by legislation for insuring to Hindu wives and daughters their rightful property inheritance from husband or father; to safeguard the interests of Indian wives by making it criminal and unlawful for an Indian married man to marry an English woman; to allow Indian women to enter any profession they may choose; and to allow Indian women to have the right to vote in municipal and other elections. In northern India there is an All-India Muslim Women's Association which, at a recent conference passed a resolution denouncing the evils of polygamous marriages and pledged themselves not to give their daughters as plural wives. Since 1904 a Women's Conference has been held annually in connection with the National Social Congress and has drawn to itself hundreds of women from all over the country to discuss subjects relating to woman's life. Their findings year by year take a strong position with reference to various situations that need attention.

Bombay and Calcutta have associations of Indian women graduates, and a notice signed by ten Indian women recently appeared outlining a plan for forming a national unit for participation in the International Federation of University Women. For three years the Indian Woman's Suffrage Association has been working for the spread of its ideas and aspirations, and forty-three branches have been organized in all parts of India. Representatives of

this Association presented an appeal to the Government asking it to extend the franchise to Indian women. Delegates were sent in 1920 to the International Women's Suffrage Alliance in Geneva. There is something almost pathetic about such a movement, for only one woman out of a hundred can read and write. But in it we can see India's eager part in the great, surging desire for a larger life that has come to the womanhood of the world. The Councils of two provinces (Bombay and Madras) have recently decided to extend the franchise to women.

Women are beginning to make public demonstrations in behalf of their objects. Several hundred women went through the streets of Madras carrying the Home Rule banner. In many places they are the backbone of this movement. In 1920 a good deal of attention was excited by a procession of women of all castes and creeds in Poona, who went to the municipal office to ask that elementary education be compulsory for girls as well as boys.

Many a beautiful and interesting personality is back of these various movements. And back of each woman leader is usually some noble-minded and unselfish husband or brother or father who has devoted time and thought to the uplift of wife or sister or daughter. When the history of the awakening of Indian womanhood is written, the names of these men will have to be mentioned along with those of the women pioneers. The memory of Justice Ranade will long be treasured, not only because he stood out as one of India's greatest modern reformers and nation builders, but because of all that

he enabled his wife to accomplish. Perhaps this is what you would expect from one who out of reverence touched his mother's feet each morning throughout her life. The story of Mrs. Ramabai Ranade¹ may be taken as typical of what has happened among high-caste Hindu women in Calcutta, Madras, Poona, Bombay, and in every town in India where women's societies have come into existence.

For that story we are taken back to a summer night in 1873. A young man of thirty-two had buried his face in his hands, his soul bent with remorse and grief, as he sat in the little, dark room of his Poona home. He had been one of a small group of young, enthusiastic social reformers who had pledged themselves to remain unmarried rather than marry a child. A month before he had lost his wife, and now, in spite of protest, he had been married again to a little girl of ten. How could he face his friends? How could he again be happy when, contrary to his own conscience, he had done a thing which could never be undone. In the zenana (women's quarter) with a mother-in-law and sister-in-law seen for the first time that evening, slept the little Brahman bride, Ramabai Ranade.

With great care and patience the husband taught his little girl wife. It was arranged for a missionary to come to teach her English. Her taste for reading grew. At nineteen she came under the powerful influence of Pandita Ramabai who later

¹Abbreviated from a paper by Mrs. L. P. Larsen, read before the Bangalore Missionary Conference (*Harvest Field*, 41:127-139) from which many of the facts given in this section have been obtained.

became a Christian and one of India's foremost women leaders. Throughout these years, the opposition from the other women of her household was great. They enforced a rule that she was not to make herself unpleasant by reading downstairs, but must confine her studies to her husband's room. Because she attended Pandita Ramabai's meetings, she was not even allowed to touch the other women of the family or the cooking vessels of the house. Many a time as a girl, when ridiculed by the conservative women of the household, she would hide somewhere and weep, not mentioning to her husband what had taken place. Thus Ramabai Ranade's mind developed and matured under the guidance of her husband and through fellowship with Pandita Ramabai.

In the year 1909, Mrs. Ranade organized the Poona Seva Sadan, a Society which has now grown to be the first organization of its kind in India, with a fine record of services rendered to the general community. It would interest any forward-looking Westerner to glance over an annual report of this organization.¹ There are on the rolls of the different departments of the society's educational and industrial classes 741 women, and 141 women are cared for in their hostels. The objects of the society are to educate women through regular classes and to widen the range of their knowledge by means of libraries, lectures, tours, and excursions; to enable women to participate intelligently in all domestic,

¹A copy would doubtless be sent to any American society addressing its request to the Poona Seva Sadan, Poona, India.

social, and national responsibilities; to inculcate principles of self-reliance and mutual helpfulness; and actually to train women for educational, medical, and philanthropic service to the motherland. Their mottoes are: "One at core, if not in creed" and "Life is a trust for living and self-sacrificing service."

English-educated women often take the leading part in societies such as have been mentioned, but in many places the leaders have had no university education and some of them do not speak English at all. In fact, a remarkable impetus to reform is sometimes given by a quite uneducated girl. Recently a Brahman student in America was recalling the tragic sacrifice made five years ago by a young girl of his birthplace, Calcutta. He spoke with reverence of her startling act which had aroused a Province. The father of the girl was poor, but had made every effort to obtain a dowry large enough to secure a husband for her, but in vain. At last she had reached the exceptional age of fourteen without being married, and the father determined to mortgage his farm. Snehalata put on her best clothes, went up to the housetop, soaked herself in kerosene, and before the whole neighborhood burned to death. The following translation gives the call she made for reformation:

"Day before yesterday, Father, late in the afternoon, when you returned home, footsore and weary, after having been out the whole day since the break of dawn, I saw your face, saw the world of anguish and despair which was depicted in it, and heard with my own ears those fatal words, 'All is lost.' That

face has never ceased to haunt me since. Those words are still ringing in my ears. Father, I can't bear that idea. What is marriage to me, except as a means of lifting the burden of anxiety on my account, which lies so heavy on your breast? What social obloquy have you not already endured, because I am still unmarried? What heroic efforts have you not already made to find a suitable match for me, and with what ill success? Not you, adored Father, but I am to be the sacrifice; and may the conflagration which I shall kindle set the whole country on fire!" Many a public meeting followed this event, to urge reformation in the abusive custom of large dowries at marriage.

The woman's movement is not confined to any one caste or creed. The names of Hindus, Parsis, Jews, Muhammadans, and Christians are found in the membership lists of the various societies, often in the roll of the same society. In some cases Christianity has been directly responsible for the impetus; more often its influence has been quite indirect, but none the less causative. One great spring has been the patriotic enthusiasm accompanying the strong national awakening of recent years.

VI

A second major question must interest us with reference to the aspirations of our potential world partner, India. Does she respond to the democratic temper when she has the chance? What about her political sense and aspirations?

In God's providence, Britain and India have been brought together—one, a proud Oriental people

with an admittedly great past; the other, the battling, independent pioneer for the whole world in the development of free political institutions. The romance of the intermingling and interaction of these two great civilizations fascinates the student. Can we catch God's purpose both for Britain and for India in bringing them together? Did this purpose go no further than securing for India better roads, scientifically constructed canals, a peaceful and efficient administration, and a general amelioration of life? Can we say that the Divine intention for this strange, unexpected partnership has been fulfilled?

Certain it is that Britain has played a great part in the renaissance of self-respect and sense of national dignity that has come over India, until at last we see the uprising of a people, passionately seeking liberty—political, social, and economic. The urgent and hazardous crisis through which India is passing bears on the very existence of the British Empire, and hence upon the welfare of the world. Standing as we are, face to face with the greatest experiment in the creation of responsible government which the world has ever seen—the introduction of practical self-government into a land containing a fifth part of the human race—an imperative call is found for all apostles of good-will and all disciples of Christ. The British admit that they have made blunders in India and that their policy has often been selfish. But, after many years experience in India, I desire to witness to the high estimation which the great majority of American missionaries in that land have for the degree of unity, justice, and progress which Britain has given to India. Despite a bureaucratic

attitude which tends to arise in any government scheme, an increasing number of Britishers regard their suzerainty in India as a sacred trust with all that this responsibility involves. I believe that British rule in India has been better than that of any other alien government would likely have been, and that on the whole it has been for the good of India.

In directing our prayers and thoughts toward India, every intelligent Christian of the West should keep in mind a struggle in ideals that even yet goes on. It is a contest in which magnanimity and selfishness, the highest Christian statesmanship and reactionism are all contending for the mastery. There is something dramatic in the play of forces.

Unfortunately, there have been always those ready to exploit India, from the days of the East India Company to the present when certain merchants draw wealth from India without returning intelligent sympathy or setting the example of interracial duty and social good-will. In fact, not until 1858 when political control was transferred from the East India Company to the Crown was there a worthy and sustained effort to make Britain's connection with India preeminently for the economic, intellectual, and moral good of the people. It is selfishness in Britain, for instance, that has been responsible for such a measure as the abolition of Indian import duties in the interest of Lancashire's cotton trade, by which Indian industry received a great setback.

But the great body of British officials belongs to

another class—the school of efficiency. Interested in the moral and material progress of the land and actuated by a high sense of duty, they have built up a masterful administrative machine. Trained in the high traditions of their order, the British civil servants in India have continued to be second to none in integrity of purpose and efficiency. In the course of a few generations they rescued India from anarchy; unified her peoples; secured peace for her at home and abroad; maintained equal justice amid jealous and often hostile communities and creeds; established new standards of tolerance and integrity; made substantial strides in spreading education, conquering famine, combating plague and malaria often in the face of obstruction and prejudice; and raised the whole of India to a higher plane of national prosperity and of moral and intellectual development. The British officer in India spends the best part of his life far from home, often in some remote rural area which has involved the prolonged sacrifice of the happiest family ties. He has conceived his task to be faithful administration and doing the best in his power for the welfare of the people.¹ But this type of Britisher did not consider it his task to train up a nation on democratic lines, or did he regard it as compatible with the suzerain relation of his nation to comport himself democratically in his contacts with the Indian people. Some effort was made to consult Indian opinion, but the dominant attitude was that of autocratic pa-

¹Read Kipling's vivid picture of "William the Conqueror," in *The Day's Work*.

ternalism, with a strong sense of their responsibilities as guardians and protectors of the simple and ignorant masses committed to their care.

There is a third British attitude. There have always been Anglo-Indian statesmen who, with Elphinstone and Munro, Macaulay and Edwardes, have regarded the relationship of Britain with India as temporary and have looked with equanimity and even pride to the future in which Britain would be able to resign into the hands of the Indians themselves a trusteeship faithfully discharged. Such men have acknowledged that Britain holds India as a trust for the Indian people, that the public services should be Indianized, and that a policy should be pursued as generous as is compatible with even tolerable efficiency and with the safety of the Empire. Many there are who acknowledge a duty not only to afford India the widest opportunity for self-development, but also to endeavor positively and constructively to quicken in India those spiritual forces which Britain has found to be the soul of liberty and progress. Some even vision a time when both India and Britain will see that their destinies are dependent upon their remaining united in one great equal and mutually strengthening federation—an Indo-British Empire. They hope that Britain and India, mutually educating one another through their diversity of character, traditions, and gifts, together may be able to accomplish in the world task more than they could achieve separately.

India, also, has her struggle. There are the inarticulate masses who until very recently have cared

little what rulers they had so long as they were left undisturbed. In contrast with them, there has gradually arisen a body of Western-educated men. It is very important to remember that these constitute an infinitesimal minority. They are often separated by a wide social gulf from the vast village population overwhelmingly agricultural. Some of them (as we have seen in the first part of this chapter) have confined their efforts to social reform. They have held that the social groundwork must be reshaped before political reconstruction could profitably begin. Others, finding themselves hopelessly at variance in regard to questions of social reform, have largely confined their efforts to political reform and have ceaselessly agitated for an ever increasing measure of self-government. They have held that political changes must take place before any real progress could be made. A few have been actuated by caste rivalry and racial hatred, and, with little interest in or knowledge of the masses, have selfishly schemed to secure power in the hands of their own hereditary groups. It is most interesting and significant that of late these two great streams of self-help in India—the social and the political—have begun to merge into a great national movement embracing in its scope the social, economic, and political uplift of the country as a whole.

VII

We need not go back into India's ancient history—the Hindu period from 650 B. C. to 1193 A. D. and the Muhammadan period 1193 to 1761. But a résumé

of the next period¹—the British—will help to give the background we need. It is noteworthy that it began merely in the desire for trade. Only gradually, partly to protect commercial gains already secured, partly because of a feeling that it would be morally unjustifiable to permit widespread disorder, did the East India Company extend its territorial sway. In this way India, which in her long history had never before been united under one government either native or foreign, was unified politically under Britain.² A series of great administrators brought order out of chaotic conditions. Finding themselves arbiters of vast conflicting interests, and invested with semi-autocratic powers,—executive, financial, and judicial,—they fell into a way of developing a paternal despotism with order imposed from without. Foreigners were at its head throughout and pushed on their work of efficiency and development without trying to train Indian public opinion to an intelligent participation in the principles and aims of British policy.

In the meantime, English education, officially introduced in 1833, was raising up a Western-educated class. These people began to develop a strong sense of grievance because they had no adequate place in the foreign-made administrative structure. Furthermore, the very literature to which they had been introduced through the English education they had received—the works of such men as Burke and

¹For this, the files of the *Round Table* and the *Indian Social Reformer*, among others, have been consulted.

²Although under this paramount power, to this day 675 Indian princes rule in one third the area and over one fifth of the total population.

Mill—made them restive for a more liberal form of government.

Moreover, the means of acquiring a common spirit were developing. Railways and better roads were removing the isolation of one section from another. The universal use of English in the universities was enabling leaders to get together who otherwise would have had to speak in seventeen principal and over one hundred subordinate tongues. A common currency and a unified post and telegraph system were aiding communication. Over all was the foreign Raj (Government) against which common interest could be stirred; and a press both in English and the vernacular was rapidly developing.

By 1885, a progressive group of educated Indians was able to organize the Indian National Congress which ever since has been a powerful force not only in focusing India's political thought, but also in strenuously demanding from the British a remodeling of the machinery of government. But Asia had not had "responsible" government, or a representative system—two methods of deciding public questions which have been developed in the West. Britain saw no great gain in turning over government to a limited class when an electorate to which they could be responsible had still to be created, largely from illiterate masses.

The Indian Councils Act of 1892 introduced the elective idea, but made no efforts to enlarge the boundaries of the educated classes or to provide them with any training in responsible government. The Minto-Morley reforms of 1909 still further increased the number of Indians elected to imperial

and provincial councils, greatly enlarged their powers of criticising the government, but unfortunately gave them no real responsibility to test and sober them. Meanwhile, the prolonged difficulties for the British raised by the South African War, the sensational victory of an Asiatic over a European Power in the Russo-Japanese War, and the revolutionary movement in Russia which compelled the autocracy to surrender some of its authority to a popular assembly had created a ferment throughout educated India.

A party of "Extremists" developed who were more or less openly against British rule. Irritated by instances of foreign exploitation, they had no attention left for social reform. The one thing necessary was to get the objectionable cinder out of India's eye. They were aggressively impatient at the inability of the Indian National Congress to force the hands of Government by any constitutional form of agitation, and they very deeply resented the indifference of Government to the pleas of the "moderates," who disliked revolutionary methods and who were grateful for the work of past generations of Englishmen.

Most educated Indians today have their keenly felt grievances against the British government. They lament the great proportion of their budget that goes to an army for which they do not acknowledge a need and that is used for ends in which they have no voice. The resulting small percentage of total revenue available for education pains them. They charge Englishmen with designedly keeping India a producer of raw materials and a consumer

of manufactures. They claim that Indians have conspicuously shown their ability at the bar, on the bench, in literature, and of late in science, and that therefore they should receive a greater place in governing. They contend that the British, wrapped up in the superiority of race and traditions, are too aloof and conservative; that only Indians—not aliens—can interpret the needs and interests of their people. They admit a certain inexperience, but strenuously object to being kept out of the water until they have learned to swim.

They say that the Government has been slow to see that times have been changing; and that, while in no way relaxing their efforts for the moral and material progress of the country, the British could have definitely adopted a policy of giving Indians the experience and sense of responsibility and mass education essential to the development of democratic institutions. British rulers, they hold, have failed to see that their mission was to educate the people entrusted to their charge up to their own level of political development. Their desire to see things efficiently done excluded the desire to see Indians try to do them.

Nevertheless, Britain has been true to her highest self in the unconscious way in which she has been educating India to the highest that she herself knew. Since 1833, the educational system has placed in the hands of Indian youth the philosophies and histories and poems which told of England's struggle for popular rights; how one king after another was beheaded or driven away until through a series of reform bills the franchise was extended to practically

all her people. Britain has not tried to hide from India the truth that at heart she abhors autocracy.

Many British are ready to acknowledge with regret the wrongs inflicted upon the people of India in the days of the old East India Company, but are proud to recall that it was they themselves who exposed the wrongs and tried some of the chief perpetrators. They acknowledge that India's beautiful household industries have been driven to the wall, but hold that if British industry had not done this, the industry of other European countries or America would have effected the same result. They admit that free trade and the introduction of machinery have brought bitter hardships upon Indian workmen, but show how these have borne down heavily upon labor the world over. They hold, furthermore, that it is not so much Britain as Western industrial and competitive civilization that is to blame; that India has been the victim not of a personal and racial greed and malice peculiar to Britain, but of an international system which has brought all Western peoples to the brink of destruction.

The British would say that they have sincerely believed in free trade on the ground that if a given industry could not survive competition, the country was better off without it. Through them and through other Western peoples, the Christian conscience has been permeating Indian life, rectifying many a social evil, and establishing new standards. Common humanitarian impulses of the West have inspired the struggle against famine and pestilence. If a critic charges them with having accomplished

little, they admit that relative to the need this is true, but that if India had not been so poor and if their staff had not consequently been so limited, more would have been done. It should be remembered that until a comparatively recent date even in England compulsory mass education was not approved.

VIII

The World War brought things to a climax. Without conscription, a million and a quarter Indians went to the front, and Indian princes vied with one another in contributions of money, troops, and supplies. Grateful for India's loyal assistance, British ministers solemnly pledged a reward to India. The War brought to the forefront of public discussion the problem of imperial reconstruction to follow, and of India's place within the Empire. Speculations and even concrete proposals engrossed the articulate minds of India. India, the people said, was willing to remain steadfast to the British connection in the same way as the Dominions, but, like the Dominions, she must be given home rule. It has sometimes seemed doubtful whether the Indians could be restrained until the now illiterate millions had been trained into electorates capable of giving an intelligent mandate to their representatives or until administrators could be found among such representatives qualified to discharge the functions of responsible government. Increasing numbers demanded that home rule should be given at once and in full. Even if one were to sympathize with every legitimate longing of nationalism in India, it constitutes

a tantalizing problem as to what should be done. Adolescent India may easily hurt herself with unaccustomed instruments. Many a parent has had to face the same problem with an ambitious and headstrong son.

At last, stirred by the insistent demands of India's leaders, the attention of Britain was secured. In 1917 came a momentous pronouncement, the most important ever made in the history of British India. It declared that the future policy of His Majesty's Government would be: "The increasing association of Indians in every branch of administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire." By it, the principle of autocracy was for the first time deliberately and explicitly abandoned.

The Act, which was finally passed in 1919, transferred certain branches of administration in each provincial government wholly to the responsible control of an actual, though limited, Indian electorate. Under "transferred" subjects Indians have effective control of education, public works, forests, agriculture, sanitation, excise, the control and encouragement of industries, etc. Legislative and administrative responsibility for other branches of government, such as the army and navy, police, telegraph, railway, and other revenue departments remain in British control. There is now a majority of elected Indian representatives in each of India's eight provincial councils and also in her national legislature. The members of these bodies have be-

gun to realize their increased powers to such an extent that the new constitution may be regarded as a forcing-house which, even more than the War, is bringing political self-consciousness to maturity.

IX

Unfortunately, the very years which brought the Act of 1919 brought other events which embittered the soul of India to an unprecedented degree. At the close of the War a thick blue book was published in India, detailing the plots and conspiracies against the government which had partially developed and had been suppressed. As a result of this investigation, the Government passed the Rowlatt Act, enabling them to deal autocratically with possible anarchy and sedition. Since the Act was passed in the face of the united opposition of all Indian public opinion, it was a severe blow to Indian pride. In their view, it not only endangered their freedom, but stigmatized them before the world as a country of anarchists. They called it the "black cobra act."

Moreover, the Muhammadans had their grievance. They had interpreted certain statements by British statesmen as guaranteeing that at the end of the War nothing would be done to dim the prestige of the Sultan as spiritual head of Islam. This seemed to them a perfectly fitting return for the loyalty of seventy million Muhammadans in India.¹ When the peace terms for Turkey came out, Muhammadans claimed that the pledges as interpreted by them had been flagrantly broken. Tremendous opposition

¹Limits of space have necessitated the merest mention in this book of this important element in modern India.

was aroused, and agitators succeeded in uniting Hindus and Muhammadans in denouncing Britain for her part in this decision with reference to the Caliphate, so central in Moslem thought.

As a third disturbing element, India's long-standing grievance concerning the discrimination made by their fellow British subjects against Indians who had emigrated to the colonies of East Africa again created bitterness. Finally, largely as the result of the Rowlatt Act, came a most unfortunate series of events in the Punjab. The authorities, fearing a repetition of the mutiny of 1857, used what all Indians and many British believed to be quite unwarranted and humiliating severity in dealing with the situation. These terrorizing measures centered in the city of Amritsar, so that this name was on the lips of everyone in India in 1919. Hearts in India's farthest village were embittered by the stories which reached them from the Punjab.

It was in these days that Gandhi rose to leadership in India and launched one of the most dramatic movements in recent history—the non-cooperation movement. This was an attempted boycott of everything connected with British rule. Indians were to set up their own courts and to provide their own national schools. They were not to vote for or serve in the new legislatures or work in government offices or use any foreign goods. A great prohibition campaign partly crippled the revenue from excise. Students lay on the steps of colleges so that anyone insisting on entering must do so over their bodies. Titles and honors bestowed by Government were to

be returned. In the end, taxes were to be refused. By such methods, Gandhi predicted that the Government would be reduced to impotence within a few months. There were some noble sides to this movement, but on the whole it was unwise and unpractical, and has aroused increasing opposition on the part of influential and sober-minded Indians. Its results, however, have served to reveal the deep and serious nature of India's unrest, and that the old-time glamour which surrounded the very name, "British Raj," has been dissipated. If Gandhi and his followers persist in carrying out the more extreme features of his program, it will certainly have most serious consequences for the peace of India.

It would be quite wrong to associate India as yet with the so-called "yellow" or "black perils." But it is terribly significant that some Indians are beginning to trace the root of all India's troubles to one single principle—the menace which they believe white predominance is to the honor, liberty, and life of non-white races and nations. In Amritsar and the martial law excesses of the Punjab, they see an effort to establish white predominance by terrorism; in the Caliphate decision, the arrogant assertion of the whites to rule non-white peoples; in the humiliating position forced on Indians in the self-governing colonies and in East Africa, a claim of the whites to keep down non-whites. Put this way, the Indo-British problem becomes the concern of every Western person.

X

A perusal of this chapter makes it plain that India has at last become self-conscious. She has awakened to a sense of her own need. Thousands of her sons are at work to bring in a better day.

As we consider India's many social and political movements, what should be our attitude and policy? Indian nationalism raises acutely the difficult problem as to a missionary's relation to political matters. It is natural for Indians who believe that their country is being wronged to feel that those who pretend to love them should also denounce the wrongs. In India some of the missionaries are citizens of the governing nation; others are there by the permission and courtesy of that nation. Obviously the responsibility for criticism in these two cases will be different. Some balance must be found between an exclusive emphasis on underlying principles without reference to the time and place of their application, and action on the conviction that the gospel is for society as well as the individual, and that one's mission is to make Christ's spirit dominant in every aspect of man's associated life.

We can see plainly that what India wants is that the West should not do all the work, but by example, encouragement, and cooperation should enable her to get under way. India does not wish to be superintended, managed, or ruled, but longs for the experience that will enable her to develop and rule herself. She has come to the place where she will refuse patronage, but she will welcome respect and sympathy. These political aspirations all have their analogues in mission work and the Indian Church.

We are, therefore, thankful for missionary statesmen who have the imagination and initiative to reshape our methods where necessary, so that the result will be—not work done or culture transferred—but a nation assisted to help itself and in touch with the Highest.

Let us recall the great woman's movement that is going on in India and inquire what our attitude should be toward it. Here we must be careful not to interpret the movement as a conscious trend toward Christianity. That Hindu women are willing to meet with European women for a social hour on more or less Western lines or for philanthropic work of a range hitherto unprecedented in India does not mean that they are any the less zealous about their own religion. Hindu women are very devout. As they face the enormous problems of the social regeneration of their land and seek to develop a larger, freer life for India's womanhood, it is quite natural for them to turn for solution and support to their own religion. In fact, some of the societies conduct a weekly religious meeting, and we need not be surprised that even educated Indian women attempt to exhaust all sources of help in Hinduism before they are ready to acknowledge any debt to the principles and spirit of Christianity.

Suppose you happened to pass a powerful touring car stalled at the foot of the Rockies. The owners of the car are eager to proceed. They are thrilled with reports of the view from the top, but are neither experienced in the management of their machine, nor do they know the road. You would of course stop to help them. Instead of pushing on the

wheels,—a hopeless, impossible task,—you would examine the gas-tank. Is there any propelling power there? Perhaps there is an inferior quality of gasoline. It might run on the level, but cannot climb rough, steep roads. You would change this first, then you would give them advice about the road and how to avoid the worst places ahead such as you had passed through. If you were thoroughly eager that they should reach the top in safety, you would see that someone went along to show the way. Just so with India's powerful womanhood. Today it seeks the freedom of higher levels. The machinery is all right—the women have the capacity. They do not, however, have modern experience and education, and Hinduism is an entirely inadequate mixture. It cannot generate enough power. The secret of climbing successfully is Christ in the heart. Will India discover this in time? Let someone tell her! Our women of the West do not claim to have reached the summit, but they have been making the climb recently and still remember the hard places. Volunteers are needed to help India to pick out the way.

Could any greater appeal be made to the sisterhood of women than this struggle against great odds on the part of India's daughters? Reverence for personality and the respect for women inspired by our Lord have, after long centuries, given rise eventually to our Western woman's movement. In the great, world-wide process of the emancipation of womanhood, problems that have long since been solved by us are opening out before India's women as at last they are becoming conscious of their need. We are sadly aware that even in our own country

there has been all too little direct and conscious seeking of His guidance and control. Shall we then let India's women work out their problems alone? Or shall they be enabled to evolve in the light that Christ can throw upon their problems, in the presence of the greatest personality this world has known, God's revelation of what a human life may be?

The years of greatest opportunity for befriending the cause of India's womanhood are passing even now. Aspiration for nationalism, which has so stirred the men, has fired the hearts of the women also. They may not long welcome an "outside influence." Now, however, things are plastic as never before.

In some instances Indian Christians and missionaries have been members, sometimes the originators and officers, of these women's societies. As such, they have given abundantly of the fruits of friendship. To some, this may not be what they have considered missionary service, but in these days workers must ever be alive and flexible in their methods—as eagerly alert as love itself. Ways of meeting the human needs of India which were begun sixty years ago may not all be suited entirely to this day, and only lack of imagination will keep on working in the same old way. However, it is not always easy for missionary women to be sufficiently in touch with the class of women who are shaping these modern movements, for there is a problem here. Where will one's energies count most for the Kingdom? How much time should one spend in getting into touch with women who do not want one's aid?

Where the women in these clubs wish only to be amused and almost resent instruction, missionaries often decide to help the poor to work, rather than the rich to play.

With reference to social reform in general, so colossal are the needs and so entrenched the backward customs that the struggle is going to be a long one. Precious as are the effects on mind and conscience produced by the Indian reform movements, the actual results on social customs come very slowly. Seeing India fighting, and fighting against such odds, in her struggle to change custom and institution and belief, are we not going to extend the straightforward help of a friend? All acknowledge the sympathy and support of Christian missionaries in the past. In fact it may be said that the Indian social movement is a direct result of Christianity and Western influence, for the wider conception of the worth of personality does not come from Hinduism. Not infrequently, Hindu social reformers have had to meet the charge that they were playing into the hands of Christian missionaries.

It will readily be seen, however, that these modern religious and social movements make actual acceptance of membership in our Western Church system much more difficult. While many who have been attracted by the teaching and work of the missionaries identify themselves with Christian organizations, the great majority are content to accept only the practical lessons and adopt merely the ethics of Jesus. Hence, the churches receive relatively few additions from the higher castes. Yet, nevertheless, Christian ideas and standards are rapidly

spreading. High moral and social standards which a few decades ago were associated solely with Christianity have now become the accepted standard of public opinion. Hence, Hindu social and religious reformers have been diffusing the idea that evil customs and superstitions are not of the essence of the Hindu religion. This is a great tribute to the influence of Christianity, but at the same time it deprives it of one of its major assets in its evangelistic appeal.

In Alexander Duff's time there were no half-way places between unpurged Hinduism and Christianity. Educated men were not defending and interpreting their old religions, and Hinduism had no modern leaders. The decision before a serious and awakened Hindu was whether Christianity or agnosticism was to be his path. This is undoubtedly one reason for the contrast between Duff's brilliant galaxy of high-caste converts and the dearth of modern baptisms in mission colleges. It was about the year 1870 that intelligent Indians began to search for a spiritual basis for a new India in their own scriptures. As a consequence, there are now some forty different societies representing various stages of break with orthodox Hinduism and from which a discontented Hindu may now choose. No one need any longer become a Christian merely in order to dine or marry outside his caste.

Is this trend toward the Christianization of public opinion and effort in India really a drawback to missionary work? Or is this a result for which we should be devoutly thankful; one, indeed, which we may well have expected as a natural outcome of

Christianity's approach to India? May it be possible that Hinduism, under the impact of a developing Christian Church, can slough off many of its evil superstitious accretions and still remain essential Hinduism? Should we be glad for any ethical and social progress in India apart from a frank and full acceptance of Christ's Saviorship? Granted that India's efforts to help herself have led to reform movements within her own religions which have made conversion to Christianity more difficult today, can you still be enthusiastic over India's efforts to help herself? Can it be that the creation of public sentiment sympathetic with Christian ideals for individual and social life is simply one stage, from which the next step may be taken—a Christian witness to the way in which the basal spiritual hunger and urge may be met and satisfied? Surely India's social reformers and political leaders, awakened and inspired by the West, have a right to our continued help and encouragement. Above all, have they a right to that Life to whom we directly trace our most precious blessings and truest progress, a Life that perhaps in new and unexpected ways we may now commend with poignancy and power to aspiring, yearning, and prophetic spirits among India's needy folk.

Prayer

At the end of this chapter, where we have been looking at India's endeavor to help herself, it is fitting that we should follow two of her own great prayers.

¶ From the unreal lead me to the Real, from the darkness lead me to Light, from death lead me to Immortality.

*Brihad-Aranyaka Unpanishad,
1-3-28 (600 B. C.)*

Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high;
Where knowledge is free;
Where the world has not been broken into fragments
by narrow domestic walls;
Where words come out from the depth of truth;
Where tireless striving stretches its arm toward perfection;
Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way
into the dreary desert sand of dead habit;
Where the mind is led forward by Thee into ever-widening thought and action;
Into that heaven of Freedom, my Father, let my country awake.

—*Rabindranath Tagore*

CHAPTER FOUR

Cooperation of the Christian West

I

IN A DAY when the nations of the earth are awakening to the claims of brotherhood, and when international trust and good-will are being stressed as the great way to peace and prosperity, people are beginning to recognize foreign missions as one of the most effective movements in human history. Internationalism has been implicit in Christianity from the beginning. Its service, its message, its salvation could not be confined to individual, to family, or to community, but must grasp nothing less than the whole world. In it has been an impulsive power that has sent forth a noble succession of devoted men and women who left Western shores to spend their lives in behalf of the peoples of other lands.

India is rich in missionary heroes, and in these lives the Church has a great storehouse of inspiring example and accomplishment. There is Francis Xavier, who, when he started to India in 1542 to become the founder of Roman Catholic missions there, abstained from interviewing his widowed mother and much loved sister lest he should be tempted to draw back. We see him later living for over a year among the lowcaste Paravas, on rice and water, spending sometimes twenty-one hours a day in prayer and work, and habitually calling the children together in each new village, by means of his bell, in order to teach them. Although Xavier, as a Jesuit, used many methods of which we would not

approve, it is not surprising that to this day Christians gather under the banyan tree which he planted at Rameswaram to mingle the name of this devoted, courageous, indefatigable worker with their prayers.

In contrast with the welcome accorded to modern recruits is the way the delicate Ziegenbalg was terribly opposed by the Danish authorities when he landed in Tranquebar in 1706. The Governor, after pouring contempt upon the new arrival, withdrew with his council and chaplain into the fort, leaving Ziegenbalg and his companion alone in the market-square. The sun had set, the streets were dark, the strangers knew not which way to turn, but watched and waited under the silent stars—the first Protestant missionaries to stand on Indian soil.

Another early missionary, whose name still pervades the Tamil country like a perfume, was Christian Friedrich Schwartz (1726-1797). For over fifty years without return to Europe, he went in and out among the people, visiting palace and hut alike, comforting dying soldiers, acting as envoy to Haider Ali or as the trusted advisor of the Raja of Tanjore. He found time to teach in a day-school and prepare people for baptism even when occupying the most influential public post. There was a simple goodness, an unmistakable purity, a capacity for friendship about his life that won thousands to Jesus Christ.

Modern Protestant missions in India date from 1793 when William Carey landed in Calcutta. It would surprise some present-day enthusiasts for social and economic betterment to survey the pro-

gram of this leader of Serampore's great trio—Carey, Marshman, and Ward. He believed that every Indian needed individual salvation from sin and a deep and personal Christian experience. This conviction took him to India and gave dynamic force to all his service there. His great work in Bible translation, publication, preaching, and teaching demonstrate this. But few personalities in history can surpass this one-time cobbler as a powerful center from which issued streams of social influence, also. Over a hundred years ago Carey was studying the natural history of India, laying out experimental gardens, importing all sorts of vegetable, flower, and fruit seeds, introducing scythes, sickles, plow-wheels, and other conveniences, advocating good cattle, and founding "The Agricultural and Horticultural Society in India." He manufactured indigo, made printing type, devised new methods of paper manufacture, started the first newspaper, and erected the first steam-engine in India. Such was the breadth of conception of the Christian task of one who could write to his son who had just entered missionary service in India: "Should you, after many years' labor, be instrumental in the conversion of only one soul, it would be worth the work of a whole life."

Henry Martyn, the brilliant Cambridge student who gave up ambitions of the bar for love of India, so burned with compassion in prayer and effort for men that, when he died at the early age of thirty-two, on his tombstone was placed the inscription in four languages, "One who was known in the East as a man of God."

Those great hymns of the Church, "Holy, Holy,

Holy, Lord God Almighty," "The Son of God Goes Forth to War," and "From Greenland's Icy Mountains," were given us by a missionary of the Church of England in India—Bishop Reginald Heber. There was John C. Lowrie who landed in Calcutta in 1833. Within a month of his arrival he buried his young wife, but alone and undiscouraged he pushed up the Ganges to Cawnpore, and then by palanquin four hundred miles overland to found the first mission of the American Presbyterian Church in India and the first Christian mission of the Punjab. In 1856 William Butler laid the foundation of the great American Methodist missions in India, through which, before his death, one hundred thousand people accepted Christ as Lord. Bishop J. M. Thoburn gave more than five decades to India and left a record of masterful Christian statesmanship.

The Lone Star Mission has its story of courageous faith. In 1862, after twenty-eight years of almost fruitless labor, an attempt was being made for the third time to abandon it. It was Jewett, on furlough from the Baptist Telugu Mission, who was immovable, declined to be sent to another field, and declared his intention to go back and live—if need be, die—among the Telugus. Not many years passed until this mission was in the midst of one of the greatest movements toward Christianity that India has seen. Prayer Meeting Hill in this mission embodies one secret of its power. On this hill-crest, hallowed by many times of prayer, Canadian and American Baptists were gathered together on one occasion, and the caste people looking up from below exclaimed, "Their God is hovering over them.

Our opposition is useless. They are bound to conquer."

Often the cost has been great. Graves of brave wives and little children tell a story of the climate's toll. The heartache of separation between parent and child, and the heroism of homeless student days are keenly felt, but there is an urge that sends them on. Mary Reed has stimulated thousands to prayer and to greater consecration. It was in 1891 that this young American missionary suddenly awakened to the appalling fact that she had contracted leprosy while in India. Taking this as a sign of God's will for her life, she has, even to the present time, devoted her life to work among the lepers.

At the heart of the missionary enterprise is the conviction that the greatest need of mankind is to know God and Jesus Christ whom He has sent. Its passionate yearning is that others should have the experience of the priceless treasure that is in Him. It is the impulsion to share Jesus Christ that above all other things leads to the determination, heroism, and sacrifice that characterize the Christian enterprise of world friendship. Two marked results of mission work in India; viz., the mass movements and the Indian Church, are treated in the next two chapters. Here let us look at what missions have accomplished in other lines and see where missionary cooperation is still needed.

II

An imposing amount of educational work is carried on by missions in India. There are 34 colleges in which one sixth of all the college youth of India

study; 780 secondary schools with 94,099 pupils; 91 industrial training institutions with 5,597 pupils; 12,173 elementary and village schools with 462,818 pupils; and 58 kindergartens with 2,008 pupils.¹

For this educational work, the Christian West has sent to India throughout the years a galaxy of brilliant leaders. Imagination takes us back to a quiet room in St. Andrews University, where one who later became one of India's greatest educationists sat one evening peering into the flickering embers of his hearth-fire, surrounded by his beloved books. A brilliant career lay before this young Scotch scholar who had taken honors in Greek, Latin, logic, and natural philosophy. His thoughts, however, were not on himself. Presently he rose and knelt in prayer. Alexander Duff was making his decision for India. Next morning, with new purpose in his heart, he smiled at the many rows of books, for these were friends which had become part of his life and from which India need not separate him. But alas, on a wild night, some months later, his vessel, India bound, was wrecked among the rocks off the South African coast. All of his thousand books were lost except two wrapped in chamois leather which were washed up on the shore—a quarto copy of the Bible and a Scottish Psalm Book. With unhesitating faith and indomitable energy, Duff pressed on to his great work of inaugurating a new type of religious appeal to the intellectual Brahman through English education.

Following Duff came Miller of Madras, Wilson of Bombay, Ewing of Lahore, and many others. One

¹*World Statistics of Christian Missions*, 1916.

after the other, Christian colleges were placed in great centers such as Madras, Bombay, Madura, Calcutta, Indore, Allahabad, Lucknow, Agra, and Lahore, until now they number thirty-four. Systematic religious instruction is given daily in these institutions to the future leaders. Many strict Hindus send their boys to these colleges because of their high moral and religious atmosphere. From these student groups and from those in the high schools, most of the converts from the high castes have come. Another far-reaching result is the way in which the colleges permeate the educated classes, otherwise difficult to reach, with a knowledge of Christianity.

The first schools for women in all India were started by missionaries in direct opposition to public sentiment and the teachings of India's religions. Their example and attainments have been so illuminating and significant that they have become a source of inspiration to India to attempt her immense task of securing a literate womanhood. Although the majority of the Christian community has in general been drawn from the depressed classes, the proportion of its female population under instruction is five times that for Hindus and eight times that for Muhammadans. An immense amount of patient, steady, faithful service has gone into this work, especially in the boarding-schools with their unceasing demands. Eliza Agnew of the American Board, who resolved to become a missionary while studying geography in school, was the first unmarried woman sent to Ceylon. She pioneered and managed a school for forty-three years without once returning to America for furlough.

She has been called "the mother of a thousand children," and it is said that every girl who took a full course under her became a Christian.

The first Christian college for women in Asia came as the result of the quiet, steady conviction of Isabella Thoburn that the women of India should be educated under direct Christian influence. The work begun in Lucknow in 1870 in a one-roomed day-school, grew into a boarding and high school with large enrolment and widespread influence. College classes were opened in 1886, and in 1919 it was made a union institution, two mission societies cooperating. In 1915 twelve mission boards in Britain, United States, and Canada united in creating the Woman's Christian College, Madras. Miss Eleanor McDougall, a gifted member of the faculty of London University, after having refused a post with generous salary under the government of India, accepted the presidency of this institution so full of hope for the womanhood of south India. Two professions especially; namely, teaching and medicine, are urgently in need of Indian women recruits. These two colleges are helping to meet this need, as well as sending out workers for the Young Women's Christian Association and the home. Wherever the graduates go, they manifest spiritual and intellectual leadership.

Even vaster than the tasks assumed by missions in higher education is their effort to stimulate primary education. The average village school is held in a mud-walled building or on the veranda of the teacher's house or out under the shade of a tree. The equipment often consists of nothing more than a

table and chair for the teacher, matting for the pupils, a black-board, registers, and clock. Sometimes in order to keep up the attendance it is necessary to threaten the parents with the removal of even this meager equipment. Not half of the twenty pupils may possess a book, for the parents are not able to purchase one. A few fortunate urchins have a slate, but the slate-pencil may be not more than one inch long. It is on the mud floors of such village-schools that the educational battle is to be lost or won in India. There are over 12,000 of these elementary and village mission schools to which almost half a million pupils come. It may be truly said, therefore, that Christian education has left its mark on the whole development of education in India. Throughout modern times it has been an important factor, and its contribution has been recognized by Government.

Missions must not relax their educational efforts in this hour of India's greatest need. She is the largest country thus far to be launched on a serious definite, progressive plan for responsible self-government. She is in the midst of the experiment—and experiment it is, for her divisions of race, caste, religion, and language are wider and deeper than those of any other land. Only eighteen millions out of her three hundred and seventeen millions can read, and the present electorate includes only six millions. From the standpoint of nationalism, education manifestly is one of India's greatest needs.

But from the standpoint of the Kingdom, Christian education is of central importance. If India is to become a life-center through which God can



ONE OF THE TWELVE THOUSAND ELEMENTARY MISSION SCHOOLS

It is on the mud floors of such village schools that the educational battle is to be lost or won in India.



TRAINING CHRISTIAN WORKERS

express Himself in creative ways, Christian leadership and a Christian society are primary essentials. Both of these necessitate the Christian school. Through it Christians are trained to take their places as leaders with the Christian ideal in the political, social, and moral betterment of India. Upon it largely rests the development of an educated Christian Church able to support the Christian cause by its money and efforts. It is not surprising, therefore, that from one third to one half of all money spent on missions goes to education of one kind or another.

One of the most difficult and pressing questions which Indian missions are now facing is raised by the agitation for a "conscience clause" in our mission schools. According to a policy begun in 1854, a large proportion of our schools receive a considerable part of their expenses from government grants-in-aid. Hindus are beginning to claim that since these grants come out of public taxes, their children should not be compelled to listen to Christian teaching. The demand is clearly associated with the growth of the national movement, and it is a serious thing for missions to be thought to be antagonistic to this national spirit. In general, missionaries admit that this claim is just in single-school areas where the parents have no option except to send their children to a school where Christianity is regularly taught. In such cases, mission managers as a rule agree that if objection to religious instruction is conscientiously made by parents, they should either allow such exception or give up their grants-in-aid. But the general consensus of missionary

opinion thus far does not favor the "conscience clause" when the parent has a choice of school or college.

The question is entirely too complicated to discuss in full here. Only an indication of the variety of factors in the problem can be given. On the one side it is claimed that Government does not depart from its policy of religious neutrality in giving grants to mission schools, for grants are also given to schools where Hinduism and Muhammadanism are taught, and that therefore there is no moral difficulty involved; that the demand does not come from the parents, but from the anti-Christian agitators who would bring pressure to bear upon those who really have no desire to withdraw their children from Christian instruction; and that mission education aims at bringing all pupils into contact with varied sources of quickening power and that it would stultify us to treat the witness to Jesus Christ as optional when we regard it as the very essence of the service these schools seek to render to the youth of India.

Other missionaries urge that Americans would not agree that taxes should go to schools in which a particular religion is inculcated; that since education has been turned over to Indian control, Indians will very likely compel the acceptance of a conscience clause anyway as a condition of receiving grants, and that it would therefore be better to yield before an embittered struggle develops; that the actual Bible teaching would reach a higher level if the hearing were not demanded through compulsory attendance; and that the whole conception of com-

pulsory teaching of the faith of Jesus Christ is unwise since religion is something to be caught, not taught—a friendship and way of life rather than primarily a set of dogmas.

A second great problem for our missionary educators in India is to determine the place of Christian education in a rapidly growing state system. Conditions are changing, and missions retain no longer the unique position of pioneering. The spread of public education must inevitably diminish the relative share of the educational burden borne by missionary effort, even though the actual number of missionary schools and the enrolment in these should markedly increase. Does this mean that Christian education is not to retain a vital and even an increasing influence in the development of India?

The answer is given in the life of Pastor Santiago. Fifty years ago he was a small boy in one of India's illiterate, poverty-stricken, outcaste villages. His home was a thatched mud-hovel amid people despised as carrion eaters—the off-scouring of India's caste system. From such a background, Santiago went to a village school. He was selected for further training in a boarding-school where he lived under the earnest care of the missionary. Then came a partial college course, followed by theological seminary—each step upward in a mission institution.

Years later there came a time when the missionary in charge had to leave Battalagundu near Madura. There were five churches and over twenty

congregations besides nineteen schools served by thirty-five Indian workers. Santiago was chosen to superintend this work. When the evangelistic campaign was on a few years ago, Santiago was set apart from his important pastorate to pass from one town to another, organizing the evangelistic bands, training the leaders, outlining the policy, and everywhere inspiring the workers to a new earnestness.

Furthermore, he was recognized by non-Christians as the greatest force for righteousness in his town. The people, though largely Brahman, elected him mayor of the town because they considered him the leader of the practical affairs of the district. Even India's exclusive high-caste groups see that Christian education has just this faith and power—to take men from the mire and in one lifetime fit them for spiritual and community service. A dechristianized national education can never make this peculiar and highly desirable contribution to the life of India.

Such a life is an illustration of the vital contribution Christian education can make to India and an evidence that it can produce a more dynamic personality, a finer, higher type of character than any other kind. What else could be true since in Christ we find our way to God and realize God's way to us, and in Him, moreover, we find the highest manifestation of the character and nature and power of our Father. The Christian Church can no longer compete in quantity of education provided, but it should bend every energy and use every resource to insure that the Christian quality of education is set on a hill in India. The opportunity to leave an inefface-

able mark on the education of India now lies, not in numbers, but in a type.

Frankly, this will not be adequately accomplished unless we give much more support to our schools. Missionary educators are asking for recruits who will bring to bear upon their task all that is best in modern educational theory and practice. They are asking for more adequate staffs so that our schools may be more pervasively Christian. They are calling for teachers with spiritual aims broad enough to recognize and serve the needs of family, community, vocational, church, and national life.

In the training of teachers to impart this Christian type of education with its emphasis on the formation of character, faith in the accessible and available resources of God, initiative for community welfare, and a true and wholesome outlook on life is found our greatest opportunity to help India educationally. In training women teachers, especially, a surpassing service can be rendered. India will have to starve educationally, and continue to struggle on with its overwhelming problem of illiteracy, with only men teachers in the village schools, until chivalry is developed toward women who do not live under the protection of zenanas. But it is easier for Christian women to break over binding conventions than for Hindu and Muhammadan women. Already some girls are being trained as teachers in the normal classes added to high schools or even to grammar schools. It is clear, however, that the relatively small efforts being made at present should be greatly increased. Non-Christian schools and government schools, as well as our own mission

schools, are eager to secure trained teachers. The Christian teacher—and especially the Christian woman teacher in India—has a place of great influence. Why should not the Christian friends of the West have the initiative to place one or more well-equipped women's training schools in every province? Such schools afford a great opportunity for union effort.

We may well ask ourselves whether we have the faith and vision to be India's helper at this point of sore need. Are we raising up in our homes children who have a vital, living, expectant experience of God? Do they know the springs of character and of personality? Are they themselves on fire for the triumph of Christ's spirit in every personal and social relationship? Are some of them mastering the profession of education? From such young people must come those through whom we are to make our educational contribution to the Orient.

III

Face to face with India's poverty, missionaries have inevitably addressed themselves to the task of making possible a fuller, more abundant life through economic betterment. Modern missionaries do not feel that they can escape the battle with the human needs of India any more than could William Carey. In justification of his efforts to better the welfare of India's peasantry, he said, "Few who are extensively acquainted with human life, will esteem these cares either unworthy of religion or incongruous with its highest enjoyment."

The experiments being made are manifold. In

the Telugu area one missionary has started a dairy farm, imported a cream separator, demonstrated the value of scientific feeding, and turned the farm over to an Indian Christian. Another, in western India, has improved the Indian loom so that, while still reparable by the village carpenter, the people can turn out fifty per cent more cloth. Another, in the United Provinces, has procured for his garden high quality mango trees from which grafts are sold to Christians—one of his attempts to provide subsidiary industries. Much has been accomplished through the advocacy of the use of silos, the practice of trenching, and seed selection.

Lace-making, introduced into Ireland during the potato famine and now indigenous, has been started by missionary women in various parts of India, bringing with it the necessity for cleaner hands, cleaner dresses, and cleaner houses. In Ceylon one mission has arranged for marriage clothes and jewels that can be rented. In Tinnevely a higher rate of marriage fee is charged by the officiating pastor if the parents have indulged in the luxury of a band. At Ahmednagar a church coffin may be borrowed by the poor. The attempt is thus made to help the people to help themselves and so increase their ability to support their families, their schools, and their churches.

In many centers the Christians are so poor that missions formally recognize that no lasting spiritual progress can be made without taking the economic conditions into account. At the Baptist Telugu Conference (1919), it was resolved that there should be established a Bureau for inquiring into

the economic welfare of their people, and reporting constructive measures of relief to Government. The American Board's mission at Madura has a permanent standing Committee on Economic Welfare, whose chairman is the professor of economics in the mission college at Madura. The body coordinating all missions in India has a Committee on Industrial and Agricultural Work. The program of this committee includes the preparation of memoranda on such questions as the relation of the educational, moral, and religious aim to economic necessities; the place of cooperative credit societies for missions dealing with rural problems; how to inaugurate and develop such societies; how to conduct an economic survey; reports on economic surveys already made; information concerning government literature on industry and agriculture; reports of successful experiments made in connection with special problems; and the problem of urban employment and the need of hostels in this connection.

When one stops theorizing and tries to help a people under actual conditions of life, an indomitable faith has to be added to creative ability. It would seem easy to introduce chicken raising. But it will be found that chickens are easily stolen, that petty officials on tour unlawfully demand them without pay, or if they are to be profitable, an old woman must be found too weak to "do coolie," but strong enough to look after chickens. Women are kept busy grinding grain and pounding rice—work that could be done cooperatively for the whole village by a machine; but the men would then complain that

their women had nothing to do. It would seem very practical to add the fly shuttle to the village looms. But just the twenty-eight inches required to catch the shuttle would necessitate rebuilding all the weavers' huts of the district.

One can easily secure a plow that will turn a deeper furrow than the century-old Indian variety, but how would you answer the farmer who complains that the new model is too heavy to bring home on his shoulder at night, and that it cannot be repaired by the village blacksmith? He will very likely complain that it requires the use of both hands to guide it, that an extra pair of oxen must be yoked up to pull it, or that the initial cost is prohibitive. By no means least important is the fact that an imported model is too long for him to reach forward and guide the oxen by means of twisting their tails. All these difficulties were taken into consideration by D. W. Griffen, an American missionary, who had specialized in agricultural tools and machinery in the United States, and who in his work at the Allahabad Agricultural Institute set himself to the task of adapting Indian implements to the needs of better farming. After persistent experimentation extending into thirty different models, he evolved one which is light, cheap, easily repaired and which, while going only about four inches deep, has a cutting edge, digs a square furrow, turns the sod over, and stays in the ground without effort—none of which the Indian plow does. This new model is known all over India as the Scindia plow. A general principle is well illustrated here. The first step upward is not in the introduction of our advanced

types of machinery, but the invention of pumps, barrows, and other machinery just a step beyond India's present stage.

It is possible to coach some of the Christian tenant farmers in gardening so that the monetary value of the yield is greatly increased. But it upsets all calculations to have the rent go up, as actually did occur in a given case, from Rs. 8 to Rs. 12 the second year, and to Rs. 16 the third year. Something more has to be done so that the landlord will not absorb all the gain of better methods. It may be possible to get a little land upon which Christians can be settled, but even if it is not soon alienated to non-Christians, what of the insatiable land hunger created in hundreds of homes by the few who have been placed? So disastrous in certain places has been the effect on the spiritual work of placing a limited number of Christians on land, that some missionaries say they will never again attempt it. An industrial school may be started, but it was found in one center that twenty-five out of thirty pupils after leaving school did not pursue the handicrafts learned. A missionary endeavoring to establish a co-operative credit society in some village has had all but the last form filled up and signed when the suspicion of the people reasserted itself, and the project was blocked until they could be put in the right humor again.

I shall never forget the series of persistent efforts which the head of a Converts' Home made before practical and profitable industries could be discovered. It seemed natural to suppose that a widow who had been accustomed in her Hindu home to

earn money by hammering metal links together into a neck chain, should continue such work. But, to the disappointment of the superintendent, it was found that, as she had become a Christian, none of her former employers would give her work. A sewing-machine was bought for making jackets and other clothing. But the Muhammadan tailors could work better and more cheaply, and so this industry did not last long. Friends in Calcutta, six miles away, urged them to make good, plain cakes. Regular orders came in, and there seemed hope for a profit. But the women were not clever, they did not understand whether the cakes were "heavy" or "light," as they never eat such things, so that sometimes a whole batch was spoiled in the making, and thus the profit was nothing.

Lace-making was introduced, as there was known to be a great demand for good lace; but the women's fingers were clumsy, they could only make a few inches a day, and hence could not compete with those who had nimble fingers. Fine drawn-thread work and handkerchief-making were tried; but these once-Hindu women had never used their eyes for any close work, not even reading; consequently their eyes gave them much trouble, and they frequently had to be taken to the eye hospital for spectacles and treatment. An added difficulty lay in the character of the women. For they were not naturally industrious and sometimes feigned or exaggerated sickness in order to avoid work.

Successful industries, however, were at last found. By a happy thought they began to make mango chutney for export to England, and ever since it was

first tried, this has continued to be a paying industry. To this was added the making of jams and of curry powder. For guava jelly, orange marmalade, and Cape gooseberry jam, a good sale was found in the neighborhood of Calcutta.

At the suggestion of their gatekeeper, they began to make Mirzapur carpets. The work was easy and mechanical, so that the women and children learned it quickly and were able to produce handsome rugs. In order to save on the price of wool, they set about learning how to dye wool, so that now they can buy wool off the backs of sheep and make it up into beautiful rugs. Needlework and the making of necklaces from seeds were successfully introduced for those who could do this work.

In such ways missions are patiently and steadily working at the problems of India's uplift, which, to one without Christian faith, might at first seem baffling and overwhelming. Missionaries are showing that the Oriental mind is not inscrutable, that it is capable of adopting change, and that intelligence with administrative ability can secure progress. Above all, they are demonstrating anew that the spirit of Christ makes people free and impels them to work their way out of degrading conditions.

IV

India's great need for medical and sanitary assistance has, from the first, enlisted mission effort. Today in over five hundred centers, mission doctors and nurses in hospital or dispensary show forth the love of Christ. Pain is relieved, the sick are healed, the lepers cared for. Every cure is an object les-

son. When a Christian village is inoculated for plague so that death passes by on either side leaving this village immune, a blow is given to ingrained fatalism. When death-rates are manifestly lowered, a more optimistic faith begins to take the place of pessimism. It will be long before government effort will overtake the widespread needs in this field; hence the help of missions is still urgently required.

In Chapter Two we saw some of the physical handicaps of India. To illustrate still further the urgent need of medical missions, let us look with some detail at conditions surrounding Indian motherhood.¹ One out of every seventy women die in childbirth in India. The appalling mortality of mothers and infants is mentioned in almost every health officer's report. Back of the high mortality at this time are various preventable causes. There is the widespread belief that a woman at the time of childbirth is ceremonially unclean, more defiling than the lowest outcastes. This belief determines many of the conditions. It becomes manifestly absurd to use anything clean, and so the oldest, filthiest rags are often hoarded for this occasion. The *dai*, one of India's untrained hereditary midwives, when summoned, will put off the ordinary, none too clean dress and put on soiled clothes which likely have not been washed since the previous case. For the same reason, the room used must be one that other members of the household do not need to use, and in practice it is a hovel outside. In some parts of India the girl's mother may enter the room, provided she undergoes certain ceremonial cleansing

¹Cf. Lankester, Arthur, M. D., *Tuberculosis in India*.

afterwards, but in the majority of cases the mother's presence is forbidden.

Another injurious belief is that fresh air is dangerous both for mother and child. It is firmly held that puerperal fever comes from exposure or chill, and hence great care is taken to exclude fresh air. Even in hot weather the door and window—if there be one—will be tightly shut, every opening closed with old clothes, and a charcoal fire placed inside, still further vitiating the air.

The need of reform in native midwifery is unquestioned by those who know the facts. Unclean in habits, careless in work, often callous to suffering, bold in treatment with courage born of crass ignorance, the midwife brings untold mischief to her patients. Under the present conditions, the profession is limited to women of the lowest class. Furthermore, there is an hereditary system by which a given *dai* deems it to be her right to look after a limited group of families, and this rules out competition.

The patient is usually left unbathed for from six to thirteen days. During this time her diet is restricted, milk in any form being forbidden. At such a time water is given most sparingly. There are thousands of children blind today in India whose eyesight would have been saved had there been present at birth someone who knew the importance of carefully cleansing the eyes of the new-born infant and thus preserving it from a common form of severe ophthalmia.

Now it should be remembered that these things are done not to torture the young mother, but with

the sincere belief that they will minister to her best good and to that of the child. The people do try to take precautions, as when the leaves of the *akh* are thrown on the house at childbirth to keep away evil spirits. But their measures are not scientific. This is all the greater reason why we should share the modern knowledge that we have. Especially is there a call today in India for the relief of the sufferings of women and of the terrible wastage of infant life. "Ah," said a Hindu woman, "your God must be a very good God to send a doctor to the women. None of our gods ever sent us a doctor." A change is bound to come eventually, but the opportunity of immensely accelerating the progress is ours today. Why not use India's conditions of health as a test case for ourselves? "If anyone has this world's wealth and sees that his fellow man is in need, and yet hardens his heart against him—how can such a one continue to love God?"

John Scudder, while still a physician in New York, met this test when, as the result of reading a pamphlet lent him by a patient, he made the decision that led him to go to India in 1820 as the first American medical missionary. Later he gave seven sons and ten grandchildren to missionary work. Clara Swain did not harden her heart when in 1869 she went out as the first woman medical missionary to India. The test was met by Margaret MacKellar who, in order to serve India's sick and plague stricken people, left her post in the millinery department of a store, and, though twenty-two years of age, took her seat in school with boys and girls in the eighth grade in order to begin again her education.

Later came a medical course in Queens University, Canada, postgraduate work in London, and years later, in 1911, the honor of being the first woman to receive the Kaisar-i-Hind medal for distinguished service to India.

Pennell of the Afghan frontier¹ went out to India in 1892, under the Church Missionary Society. I love to recall his tall, handsome figure clothed so like a frontiersman that many would not detect his foreign birth. One day amid the frowning precipices and towering ranges of the Himalayas, two Afghan mountaineers, hidden by tangled masses of undergrowth, awaited in ambush their enemy, Chikki (the Lifter), a desperate freebooter chieftain whose mountain fortress was at the head of a great, wild, gorge near by. Each man fondled a beautiful mauser rifle fitted with modern sighting apparatus. Suddenly a cavalcade of twenty horsemen emerged from a distant wood and cantered up the mountain road. Both rifles were raised and covered the figure riding at the head, a well-knit man in Afghan costume and with tanned and bearded face. Their fingers had almost pulled the triggers when one knocked up his companion's gun and whispered, "Hold, brother, it is the Doctor Sahib, Pennell of Bannu. He rides on the business of Allah."

Illness had broken out in Chikki's household, and hence Pennell had been summoned to this wild outlaw's mountain fortress. After ministering to the need, although he knew the cruel treachery of his

¹Dr. Pennell's life story *Among the Wild Tribes of the Frontier* is full of interest and incident. *A Hero of the Afghan Frontier* is written especially for boys.



LAYING FOUNDATIONS

Missionaries on tour instructing village Christians as they gather among the mud huts of an outcaste quarter.



"FORWARD!"

host, and although Chikki's fanatical Mullah (priest) was present, Pennell said, "I want to tell you of the message it is my glory to proclaim." And then he laid a Pashtu translation of the Gospels before the Chief, and, turning to the fifth chapter of the Gospel of Matthew, read the Sermon on the Mount and spoke of the Lord Jesus Christ as the Friend and Savior of mankind.

For over twenty years, on innumerable tours, with absolute fearlessness, this heroic servant of Jesus Christ lived out the spirit of his Master. We are told that in one year Dr. Pennell passed no fewer than 34,000 cases through his hospital, over 8,000 patients were visited in their homes, and there were over 3,000 operations—all with a staff of four men and one woman. When Pennell lay dying from enteric, the entire Afghan borderland was stirred with the news, and people gathered from every quarter. One had been found by the doctor on the wayside, nearly killed by a vicious horse and helpless with a broken shoulder. Others had come through Pennell's school and had taken part in some famous cricket or football match into which he had tried to put the best ideals of British school-boy life. All loved him, for his life had been lived for them.

In less spectacular, but no less heroic ways, four hundred trained men and women in mission service are ministering to India's medical need. Increasingly the work is not merely remedial, but preventive, removing the causes. In many a center busy doctors pressed with work are finding time to train nurses and assistants who go forth to meet the needs

of their own people. At certain mission centers formal medical education is available. One such center is the Women's Union Medical Missionary School at Vellore in south India, to which six mission boards contribute. The graduates of such schools have no easy path before them for they go forth to battle with superstition, ignorance, and distrust. However, when once they win a position of confidence, these Christian women doctors are able to serve India as no foreign women can do. From such will come the leaders of movements for better food, the better care of babies, and better sanitation. This training of leaders, whether among the men or women, affords a fascinating and far-reaching opportunity. By all such practical modern methods Christian missions are further demonstrating Christ's valuation of the individual human life.

V

Missionaries have unquestionably been the pioneers of social reform. All missionaries are in effect social workers. Evidence of the broad social results of Christian influence was given in Chapter Three. We may confidently assert that the teaching, efforts, and example coming forth from Christ started the streams of social activity flowing in India, and we rejoice that these movements are becoming indigenous and gaining in strength and volume daily.

It is very striking that so many Indians consciously recognize that the adventure of social service as it crosses every barrier is distinctly Christian and comes specifically out of Christian principles.

A passing traveler was talking with one of India's leaders of thought and action—a Hindu—who was describing the way his friends were working among outcaste people, taking them by the hand and breaking bread with them. "I suppose such conduct is enjoined upon you by the Hindu scriptures," the traveler remarked. "The whole of such influence, as a practical matter," replied the leader, "comes to us from the West; and moreover, if it could be conceived that we were to be separated from contact with these Western influences, that tendency among us would soon disappear."

Our task requires diversity of operation. Our message is partly expressed when it is stated; it is completed only when it is exemplified, lived, and applied. Hence missionaries must continue the propaganda of deed as a means of instilling the meaning of the gospel into the minds and hearts of the world. Social problems bristle on every hand. Christian missions already unhesitatingly use the evangelist, the teacher, the doctor. Missions of the future will undoubtedly use trained social workers to study the local territory, to map it out objectively, to make its human problems clear and interesting, and in general to be a source of encouragement to all the other members of the mission staff in the direction of such interests. It is significant, for example, that the British Board of Study for the Preparation of Missionaries has recently circulated a pamphlet urging the need for further training in moral hygiene for all women missionaries, and that in a north India textile factory, a young man and his wife have been detailed by their mission (at factory expense)

to go as welfare workers among the Indian operatives, living within the factory confines.

VI

The ultimate aim of missions is to develop a world-wide society of Christlike individuals. Their program is to teach men and women and little children the love of God and His purpose for their lives as revealed in Jesus Christ; to bring them into a loving, saving touch with Him; to incarnate His life and spirit in all personal and social relationships; and to develop a native leadership which shall be committed to the Kingdom. In giving help where the need is greatest, the Christian West finds its most effective opportunity for witnessing to the Christ. If we can comprehend India's deepest needs and most urgent problems and can make a substantial contribution to their solution, we shall be demonstrating most clearly Christ's power to inspire service and to transform life.

In sending out missionaries to India or to any other land, however, we must by no means think that upon us lies primary responsibility for completing the work. *Our aim is not so much to get things done as to help people grow.* This does not result from mere teaching, in the sense of telling others what is worth doing and how to do it. Along with this there must be emphasis on self-initiated activity. To do everything for anyone is only to insure one thing—that you will have to continue thus doing. Since our object is to develop Christians who will act on their own initiative, it has been the task of the wise missionary to find ways of calling forth

this power and developing it. It is growth through action that counts. Even at the expense of temporary failure must the rising churches initiate for themselves. People there, as well as here, are most interested in what they themselves have planned and for which they have worked and sacrificed.

This procedure is all the more necessary because the new spirit of Indian nationalism has been developing in Indian Christian leaders a marked restlessness under foreign ecclesiastical and administrative authority. When in the political realm attention is concentrated on securing more self government, it has been almost inevitable that foreign authority in church and mission matters should lead to sensitive relationships. A Christian nationalist wants the Indian Church to be open to Indian currents of thought and life. At an informal conference of Indian Christians at Allahabad in 1919, it was declared that "the Church must be given an opportunity to develop itself on its own lines, keeping in contact with the national currents. This can be accomplished only by allowing the Indian Church itself to lay down the policy and be responsible for its actual carrying out, European man-power, wherever needed, being subordinated to the Indian organization that may be evolved for this purpose."

It comes about, therefore, that one of the most difficult and pressing problems in Indian missions is the satisfactory transfer of powers and responsibilities from the strong foreign missions to the relatively poor and weak Indian churches. There is a widespread movement on the part of missions to turn over more and more responsibility to the In-

dian Church, and some of the best minds on the mission field are bending their energies toward this end. But there is often on the part of Indians impatience at the slow rate at which this devolution is taking place. Capable, educated Christian Indians believe that they could manage a great deal more than that with which they are at present intrusted. They point out that in the political realm, power and authority are devolving to the people. In like manner, in their opinion, more Indian participation in the work now carried on by missions should in some way be arranged. Few questions facing Christian statesmanship in Indian missions are more urgent than the adjustment of relations between the Indian Church and foreign missions, and between the Indian worker and the European worker.

Very significant of the times was the discussion of the relations of church and mission at the meeting of the International Missionary Council held in October, 1921, at Lake Mohonk. It was agreed that a primary aim of missions is the establishment of an indigenous Church, and that this aim implies the development of responsibility and leadership in this Church. They recognized that only as this leadership and direction of the Christian movement passes into native hands can it avoid the disadvantage of having a foreign character in the eyes of the people. Hence, various questions were seriously proposed: whether missionaries should not begin to serve under the direction of the authorities of the native Church; whether the churches of a given country should be consulted with regard to the number and qualifications of the missionaries required by them;

whether the expenditure of funds from abroad and the program of work should be discussed more largely than at present by nationals and foreigners meeting together. Still more significant were the resolutions passed by the National Missionary Council at Poona in January, 1922. Heretofore the National Missionary Council as well as the various Provincial Councils of Missions have been in the main representative of the mission organizations in India. It became the unanimous view of the Council that these bodies should become more representative of the Indian Church. It was, therefore, recommended that constitutional changes be made insuring that at least half the delegates to each of these bodies be Indian representatives and that the name be changed to the National Christian Council of India, Burma, and Ceylon. The whole question of transferring responsibility to the indigenous Church is engaging the earnest attention of our missionaries abroad and of our boards at home, and a considerable advance in this direction has been made in recent years. We must all be prepared to carry out into every sphere of planning and administration the logical results of the centric, revolutionary fact that the indigenous Church is the most efficient element in the expansion of Christianity.

The awakened consciousness of nationality is the most powerful force to be reckoned with today. There is danger that, in the reaction against foreign domination, Western ideals, and Western methods, India may reject the faith that comes to her through the medium of the West. Already many Indian patriots are questioning whether the religion of

Christ is their ally, or whether it is something foreign to the genius and needs of India. The importance of the answer to this question at this crisis in India's history needs no demonstration. For if the national spirit should array itself against missions, opposition would become almost invincible. As never before, therefore, missionaries are welcoming Indian initiative, are turning over blocks of work to their control, and are earnestly attempting to distinguish between their essential message—the eternal truth and life as found in Christ—and the particular forms and expressions which have grown up in the West. Indian Christianity must inevitably express itself in forms of thought and worship different from our own. Our task will be not fully done until the transformation into the people's own thought-forms has been completed. There is a vast difference in attitude between an attempt to pass on the best we have, and an effort to develop in India the best of which she is capable.

One may legitimately ask why it is that with so much of consecration, so many lives poured forth, so many years of effort, and such prayer, the results have not been vastly greater. Why is it that India, among all countries, has proved to be one of the most difficult mission fields? In a large measure this is true because of the religious nature of India's people. Old beliefs and customs have been rooted in the ancient faith of Hinduism. The warp and woof of society have been woven out of the religious teachings of their sacred scriptures, so that we are dealing with a people who are entrenched in a religious system to which their hearts cling with fer-

vor. Christianity takes mortal issue with these Brahmanical practices and teachings. Like ourselves too the Indians are creatures of habit. It is hard to get them to give attention to an alien faith.

But a deeper reason which grows more acute every day is that they are watching Western Christian civilization. Such reports and reflections as come through cable, cinema, travelers, and students, do not always tally with the missionary message. Many Indians will acknowledge Christianity's high ideals, but see little use in adjusting themselves to a religion that has come so short in lands where it is professed. We may as well realize that it is not alone what missionaries declare Christianity to be, but what so-called Christians are in practice, that actually determines the Indian's attitude to Christ. Travelers see our cities; students come to our universities; cables bear each day to hundreds of Oriental newspapers the facts of our partially Christian civilization. If, then, any reader finds it difficult to discover a way to help India to her best, let him set about making a stronger Christian protest to the unchristian forces in *our own* social and political life. If the Christian Church of the West were unitedly reacting against the evils of our own civilization vigorously enough for its protest to be heard with certainty in India, then—perhaps only then—would it be a Church that could evangelize India.

Part of the reason why India does not accept Christ is that Christianity has been associated with a foreign government, and has come to her in a foreign dress with foreign organizations, to such an

extent that hosts of non-Christians think that they would be denationalized if they identified themselves with the Church. Our denominational rivalries, our emphasis on doctrinal differences, and a naive insistence upon our Western forms and rituals all tend to obscure *the Christ*.

VII

With so many ways in which we can assist our world partner, and with a missionary body of five and a half thousand to be maintained in India by Western Churches, we may well ask what kind of missionaries are needed and acceptable.

It would be ideal if every mission could have in it men and women capable of making different types of contributions. Educationists are needed to wrestle with educational problems of the first magnitude. The education of rural India can be no mere copy of anything in the West, and for the solution of its problems the best educational background that our teachers' colleges can give is none too good. Men and women are needed who have specialized in religious education and are able to set up curricula of religious instruction for Sunday and day-schools. Scholars and theologians are needed with whom Indian thinkers can work out intellectual formulations congenial to India in symbols and forms of expression. Men with the administrative and executive gift are needed to help think out the adjustments that must be made between the missions and the rising churches, and to bring the experience of the West to bear upon the Indian Church as it shapes itself. Evangelists, doctors, social welfare workers,

agriculturists, business agents, secretaries, writers, heads of hostels, personal workers, specialists for the educated classes or for Muhammadans, are all needed. Almost any talent that can be used at home will be welcomed in India—provided it be real talent worthily trained and there is behind it the right spirit.

An applicant incapable of sympathetic interest in India's present-day aspirations may as well withdraw his papers. A candidate who would prefer to retain a monopoly of all mistake-making had better yield to one who can stand by while the Indian learns by trying. In other words, Indians are beginning to ask us to give up the cult of efficiency for a willingness to see things less well done for a time while they learn. Just now, partial failure by an Indian may help the Kingdom more than greater success by an Englishman or American. While Indian Christians are almost filial in the grateful love manifested to the older missionaries who have fathered their church, they do not want the young recruit to assume a parental relationship. India wants men and women who will be as conscious of their relation to the Church in India as to the society that sent them out; who will take joy in identifying themselves with the Church of India and will in self-restraining ways help it to fulfil its mission to the nation.

Naturally it will not always be easy to conform to these demands of awakened nationalism. But Indians are beginning to say that on these conditions alone shall we continue to be welcome. Opportunity for acceptable and fruitful service is not likely to

open up to the one who assumes that he is inherently superior to the races of India. One must guard one's self, therefore, against a host of insidious suggestions of superiority which hitherto have surrounded a Westerner in India. Of necessity he has lived in a better house, he has traveled in a higher class on the railways, often policemen saluted as he drove by, and simple country people would show deference to any foreigner. It is possible to go out to India with a most democratic temperament, but slowly and all unconsciously take on the habit and demeanor of superiority. The mood and temper of a ruling class tend to be assumed by each member of the ruling race. But now as never before the acceptable missionary must be characterized by the mind of Christ, who emptied Himself and took on the form of a servant. A combination of able Christian statesmanship with great self-abnegation is what is needed.

In these days especially, when interracial sensitiveness, suspicion, and even bitterness are common, men and women are needed who have a genius for friendship, for getting on with others, for drawing out their best qualities, and for creating a friendly atmosphere. The Master had a simple, natural attitude of brotherly equality. This was no mere theory with Him, but the attitude and feeling which spontaneously came forth from One who wanted to call each person—not servant, but friend. Let us learn of Him.

Our ambassadors will be eager to study Indian ways of life as well as the Indian language. The feeling of strangeness toward things Indian should

be taken away by systematic training. With certain groups, we shall wish to sit cross-legged on the floor and eat with our fingers as our hosts do. Fortunate beyond comparison is the young missionary who can stay for a while in some Indian Christian home which has not lost its Indian traditions. In some way Indian etiquette, Indian manners and forms should become natural. And when we set about sharing the life of India, we shall remember that the submerged sixth among whom much mission work is done is not the best interpreter of India's culture.

After absorbing something of the best in India's heritage, the true ambassador will help to incorporate into the Christian tradition all of this that is worthy. He will aim to help his Christian friends to appreciate justly the elements of moral and spiritual worth in their national heritage. For all things Eastern are not heathen any more than all things Western are Christian. Just as Western Christianity has taken over and rebaptized many a custom once called heathen, such as the Christmas tree, the use of candles, certain aspects of Easter, so must we sublimate many a custom found in India. Suppose yourself there for a moment and decide what you would do if you found that Indian women in your district were in the habit of taking their new clothes to the temple to have them blessed before wearing. Would you be inclined to adopt the custom in your church? If you saw that the farmers about you called in a priest and offered up a fowl in order to secure a blessing upon the sowing, would you encourage the Indian Church to announce at

certain seasons that any who would be planting the coming week might stay and have special prayer offered for them? Both these things have been done by the only Indian Bishop yet appointed.

Knowing that the universal custom in India is to have a "go-between" to arrange for marriage, inasmuch as the boy and girl do not see each other until the marriage day, would you encourage Christians to use the old non-Christian agents or adopt our Western plan of courtship or have deaconesses formally appointed to take over this function, or would you just let things drift? Do you see any possibilities in the fact that when a Muhammadan baby is born the mother will not feed it until some Muhammadan man has said the *Kalima* (Creed of Islam) in its ear? The first words it hears must be the most sacred ones of Islam.

Suppose you observe that in non-Christian marriages the bride and groom walk around a bamboo pole at a certain stage of the ceremony. Will the substitution of a cross for the bamboo be a proper step in adaptation, or will this only stereotype the lower associations of the former system and tighten the chain of superstition?

One of the most picturesque festivals in India is Devali, when tiny lights are used to outline public buildings and often the homes of people. The children love the attractive display of these little Oriental lamps with their wicks of cotton in coconut oil. Will you preach on Christ as the light of the world, ask them to "let their light so shine," interpret the festival as a triumph of light over darkness, and thus take it over into Christianity? Or will you shun

its very touch and keep the children from its charm, knowing that unbridled gambling is associated with this night, and that it really betokens Vishnu's triumph over demons? Those whom we send out to India to advise the Indian Church will be pushed back upon all the wisdom they can command and all the church history they have read, in solving the various problematic situations that arise.

Most important of all is it that the lives of those who are sent to India should in some way convey a deep spiritual impress. India, of course, is changing, and even now there are many Indians who are interested in efficiency, in lowering death-rates, in economic uplift, and in the whole round of things which have to do with this world's betterment. But fundamentally, India's yearning is for God. Activity and even social service will not satisfy India's hunger. A missionary could spend himself in organization or routine professional work, coming back weary to his resting place, and yet fail to touch the heart of India. So real must be our spiritual lives, so steeped in prayer, that the Indians will catch some glimpse of God through us. The graces which appeal to India are simplicity, gentleness, patience, God-centeredness, a thorough-going indifference to things which are not eternal. Unless to us the spiritual is extremely real, we may be regarded by them as competent organizers, but hardly as spiritual guides capable of meeting the deepest aspirations of India. Our representatives must maintain a spiritual margin, difficult though this be in their undermanned stations where the pressure of work tends to make a man feel like a mere center of operations.

Are we willing to contemplate the possibility of India's missing the Christ? Can her leaders afford to bring in their New India without Him? India does have great gifts and possibilities, but she has immense downward tendencies and conditions in her heritage. The quality of her contribution to the world and indeed her very life as a people hang in the balance. Mere changes in external circumstances will never produce the New India that we long to see. Will her leaders see in time that Christ is the most powerful possible means of molding their motherland after the noblest pattern? India sadly needs the freedom in social and religious life that Christ has ever imparted to His disciples of all ages and all countries. But it will be Christianity at its highest that will win India, and this ought to spur the Western Church so to live that from it may go forth commissioned manifestors of God.

Prayer

ALMIGHTY God, whose love reacheth unto the ends of the earth, and who dost extend to us the matchless privilege of being co-workers with Thee for a better world, we praise Thee as the Source of the zeal and devotion of those who in the past have gone forth in their ministry to India, and for the fruitage of their labors.

¶ Grant that missionaries now at work in that land may be fitted by Thy grace for their delicate task. Keep them fearless through love, and teachable through true humility. When criticized and misjudged, give them the grace of forgiveness. Guide and inspire them in their varied service, and through it all may there throb the one great passion of revealing Jesus Christ, the satisfier of India's need. May it be their glory to become least, to decrease, to become the servants of all, if only Christ may have His way in India.

¶ Fill each one with the consciousness of Thy sustaining power. Amid monotony, discouragement, or trial, handicapped by limitations of time and strength, in the face of puzzling issues and staggering burdens draw them to the Source of confidence, of rest, of refreshment. May they be guided by Thee as they attempt to build up a living society of men and women, born anew through faith in Christ, inspired by His spirit; united in a fellowship of love, and dedicated to the service of their fellow men. *Amen.*

CHAPTER FIVE

The Distinctive Opportunity in India

WE have now come to the most striking phenomenon in the expansion of the Kingdom in India—a movement that has increasingly dominated modern mission thought and policy. In it, the Christian Church of India finds her greatest opportunity, her most pressing problems, and her most glorious proof of power.

I

The greatest charge against Hinduism is that for more than two thousand years it has consigned a sixth of India's people to unrelieved degradation. Lower than the lowest caste, fifty million human beings pass through this life as "outcastes," "untouchables," "the depressed classes." Religious philosophy has aided inborn selfishness by interpreting their miserable condition as the just and accurately measured recompense for the misdeeds of a previous existence. As a result, there is an astounding degree of abject servility on the part of the untouchables and of complacent superiority on the part of the higher castes.

These lowcaste people—Pariahs and Panchamas, as they are called—are, for the most part, of Dravidian stock. In religion they have developed little beyond their original animism. Belief in spirits saturates their thought—spirits in trees and plants, in animals and even in human beings. Most of these spirits are malignant, treacherous, and fickle, so

that religion is summed up in the attempt to pacify them. If the *churel* calls at night and you go out, you are sure to die. If the water from the cooking of the food falls on the fire so as to put it out, the household is in terror lest the children be beset by *Masan*. Mourners at a funeral wail to drive off the spirits of obstruction. Perhaps you remember, when a child, in the dusk of some summer evening ducking your head to dodge the bats which hovered near. But that had none of the terror which characterizes the mental state of those who constantly dread the shadowy presence of unknown forces. The fiercer the demon, the more she is worshipped, because she is feared the more. Take from our worship all adoration and thanksgiving, all gratitude and love; instead of a single Father who has more in store for us than we can ask or think, put a myriad of spirits—one for cattle disease, one for crop failure, one for small-pox, others for drought or childlessness or deformity; seek from these no spiritual blessing, but only relief from personal and village ills by outwitting their capricious desires, and you will get some feeling of the religious life of these poor people.

Their idols are on a par with the people's poverty—little six-inch blocks of wood or stone, with holes gouged out for eyes, black with grease, oil, and the smoke of many sacrifices. What sadder sight in all the world than sons of God living as orphans in their Father's home!

Their disabilities are manifold. They are not allowed to take water from the village well, for the caste people hold that their unclean touch would

contaminate it. Even when a modern water-supply is provided from public funds, you may find an out-caste quarter with a thousand people without a hydrant, while near by are abundant taps for caste people. At a recent public meeting in Madras, one of them plaintively asked why they should be debarred from public wells and tanks, whereas their cattle and dogs were allowed the benefit of them. Since water is so scarce, they remain in their dirty, unwashed clothes until they are scarcely approachable.

The disabilities of Panchamas vary in different areas. In some sections they are supposed to clear off the dead animals and part of their pay is the flesh to eat as carrion. They live in dilapidated huts, often with scarcely enough food to keep them alive. In many places they are excluded from public roads, public markets, employment in public offices, and public places of worship. The post-office may be in the Brahman quarter—they cannot approach, but must wait for a Brahman to take pity. They may want to register a deed, but find it difficult to approach the registrar's veranda.

In theory the system of man-mortgage is supposed to be extinct, but in custom it is not. Recent investigations reveal much of what amounts practically to slavery. Thousands of Panchamas are still binding themselves or their children or both to work for the same master for a lifetime in consideration of a loan. A boy of eighteen wants Rs. 25 in cash and some grain in order to celebrate his wedding. He borrows it, undertaking to work for the lender

until the debt is paid, receiving day by day a noon-day meal. Naturally the lender does not want the debt paid. Because of extortionate interest or because he is enticed to take further loans, the debt descends from one generation to another. In south India these people are known as *padiyals* and are transferred with the land when the creditor sells it or dies. Even when this rural slavery does not exist, the outcastes have to work hard in the fields all day on a small wage and have no prospect of rising to anything better.

In most provinces the Government recognizes their right to attend public schools, and they are now reading in hundreds of such schools. But this path is exceedingly difficult for them. Official permission is a very different thing from the social permission of the community. The caste people, not wanting these people to rise, come to the schools to order them out. The teachers fear social persecution if they admit Panchama children. Even where they are admitted, they are usually asked to sit apart, are not allowed to recite, and are ridiculed so that it is very hard for them to persist.

Conditions such as have been described tend to lower their standard of morality and keep them sad and depressed. They are so poor, weary, and heavy laden that they have no grievances; for among any people it is only when the burden of living is somewhat lightened that social unrest appears. Thus the faculties of a people equal in number to half the population of the United States have been benumbed.

II

Imagine the surprise of these harassed, weary, fetish-ridden people when into their segregated and despised section of the village walks a man speaking of "good news," telling them of a Father who loves them, assuring them that they are brothers of all men everywhere, and making this seem believable by his own willingness to touch them, teach them, believe in them. They begin to awaken from the lethargy of ages and feel out toward freedom and the common rights of humanity.

Other forces, economic and social, help to stir their stagnant minds. Some desire more food for their families and freedom from the bondage of caste; some want education for their children and an escape from oppression and exploitation. Some have observed that the children of Christians are better clothed and better taught; that Christians usually have a more independent and consequential air; that they are freed from a number of irksome restrictions and disabilities.

Some are undoubtedly attracted by the thought of a single, pure, and holy God, and of Jesus Christ who can free them from the incessant and depressing fear of demons. In one form or another there is the desire for a more abundant life, for God's spirit has many ways of beckoning to these unfortunate products of a mistaken religious system. Those of us who know what motives hastened the nominal conversion to Christianity of the peoples of northern Europe need not draw aside from these who, through whatever needs, hear the call of the Christ. Discrimination, however, must be used, for

the "inquirer" may revert and cause a scandal, or his desire may be merely to get help in some lawsuit or an adjustment which will work to his advantage.

There are two distinct stages of conversion in India. From all the higher castes and communities converts come as isolated individuals and hence are cut off from the customs of their old communities to a very great extent. To declare allegiance to Jesus Christ is, for such, a very difficult step from a social standpoint, and only a few are strong enough to break away from the bonds of caste. But for the outcastes, the advantages of becoming Christians are so manifest that it has been possible in many areas, not only to win the leaders, but also a large proportion of their following. The pressure of group solidarity, so characteristic of the caste spirit in India, may result in the remainder also coming over into the Christian community. In some cases this break toward Christianity comes within a few years; in others, missionaries work fifteen, twenty, or thirty years before a mass movement develops, and in many cases it has not come yet. In such mass movements, the converts stay in their own villages, do their own work, live in contact with their old communities, and follow many of their old customs. They do not feel cut off in the same way as isolated converts from the higher castes, but the very fact that they came *en masse* makes it more probable that unchristian customs or modes of thought will be carried over. Many missionaries confidently look forward to a time when converts from the higher castes, as well, will come in groups instead of as individuals.

The movement of masses toward Christianity in its present startling dimensions began about 1880. There had been a severe famine in 1877-78, bringing terrible suffering and an appalling loss of life in south India. Missionaries threw themselves into the work of relief, and the Panchamas began more or less vaguely to sense a difference between the century-old attitude of Hinduism and the new religion of Christ. The experiences of this famine led thousands to identify themselves with the new religion.

Until very recent years their one hope was in Christianity. Sensing its sympathy, they have pressed forward by the thousand. Have you ever watched a vine kept within some darkened room? It has no developed eyes, and yet it blindly senses where the window is and sends out its feelers toward the light. In some such way these outcasts come to Christianity. They do not grasp its meaning or wholly understand the message, but in their groping, they discover that in this direction light and hope are found. When for the first time they kneel to say, "Our Father who art in Heaven," one is witnessing the birth of a new life. What limit of ascent can be placed on those who begin to look on God as Father?

These movements toward Christianity cannot be manufactured by might or force. The Spirit of God has moved as the wind among the masses. Now in this part of India, now in that, the stirring appears. In the Telugu area it was among the Madigas (leather workers) and the Malas (chiefly agricultural laborers). Among the Tamils the movement to Christianity was very largely limited to the Sha-

nans, whose business is to draw toddy from the palmyra trees. In Chota Nagpur it was the Kols and other aboriginal races; in Gujerat, a weaver caste; in the Punjab and United Provinces, the Chuhras (scavengers) and the Chamars (leather workers).

Very often these movements toward Christianity have been unexpected, and usually they have been so overwhelming in their numbers that they have found the missions quite unprepared to deal adequately with them. In Tinnevely in 1802, Schwartz baptized 5,000 in three months. After the famine of 1877-78, 30,000 in this same region were baptized by two great English societies. In Travancore, the London Missionary Society reported 17,000 Christians in 1857 and 32,000 in 1871. The Christians in the Lutheran Mission of Chota Nagpur increased in the ten years after 1861 from 2,000 to 20,000. In the Baptist Telugu area, Clough baptized 9,000 in one year, and before he died in 1910 there were 60,000 church members and 200,000 adherents. The story of how Clough, once Deputy United States Surveyor, became the "Hero of Ongole," saved thousands of lives during a famine by constructing three miles of an Indian canal, and built up the largest church in the world at the close of the nineteenth century makes stimulating reading. The Methodist Episcopal Mass Movement Commission reported that in the sixteen years following 1896 they took in 184,000 Christians, and the present rate of accession is 30,000 a year. It is because of these remarkable numbers that the phenomena have been called "mass movements."

The most effective leaders in these mass move-

ments are not the missionaries; neither are they Christians of the higher castes. Usually the break has come when some God-filled man from among the masses themselves leads his brethren to the blessing he has found. Such was the way the great movement started in the Church Missionary Society's Telugu area. Pagolu Venkayya had been a seeker after God for three years before he had an opportunity of hearing the gospel. He had renounced idolatry and had learned to pray without hearing a Christian address. On the other hand, there was a missionary who had been hunting for eleven years for a receptive hearer. He had almost come to believe that it would never please God to let him see a single convert as a result of his preaching. At last he and Venkayya met. Venkayya heard, accepted, became a believer, and was baptized. The whole aspect of things changed, for the man had been found who could interpret Christianity's appeal to his own people.

It was Bangarapu Thatiah who began the movement in the American Baptist Mission resulting in one of the largest churches in the Telugu country. As an outcaste he had consciously sought God according to his light. He had been taught the doctrines of a reformed sect by an old woman, had learned that God is spirit, and had conceived in his heart a desire to know more of Him. When at last he heard of Jesus' way, he became a great leader in what proved to be the largest ingathering of depressed classes.

Henry Drummond Williamson of the Church Missionary Society traveled for three years among the

Gonds seeking for someone to accept the message, but he had no converts. At last he found a headman of a village who had been seeking truth for years and had spent a whole year meditating under a pipul-tree. He carried about with him, over his shoulder, a Hindi New Testament tied up in a cloth, though afterwards he sadly said he could not understand it all and wanted more light. Finally, this man braved baptism before all his village, became a zealous preacher, and the leader of the movement among the Gonds.

Sometimes the leader is not of thousands, but of tens. A certain lowcaste boy seemed absolutely unable to learn in school. It seemed that he could not remember. He was tried another year, but finally had to be sent back to his village. About a year later the missionary in charge was called to that village to baptize eighteen people. This boy had started a night school and had taught them all he knew about Christ and anything else he could remember. Again the next year a call came to baptize another group as the result of his work.

III

When missions, many times woefully understaffed as regards teachers and preachers, work for such great numbers, the immediate transformation effected is often slight. But when anything like adequate instruction and Christian nurture are provided, the results are inspiring and convincing. Certain results are visible on the surface. A countenance through which shine Christian hope and freedom is very different from one from which fear has

never been exorcised. There is a distinct enlightening of the face from education. Even by a careless observer, the house of a Christian of some year's standing can be distinguished by the greater cleanliness and order from the abode of his non-Christian neighbor of the same class.

One of the most satisfying experiences life can bring to a master-builder is to be allowed to remain twenty years in one of these mass movement districts, founding churches, establishing schools, believing implicitly in the possibilities of all men when touched by the Spirit of God, drawing out the treasures hidden in their repressed natures, and encouraging the people in every way. The change in intelligence, ambition, and character throughout the area is a wonderful reward. In making a tour through India one is struck with what time and uplifting influences can do; for the Christians in the older mass movements of the south are more advanced than those in the north in education, knowledge of Christian truth, and in the sense of responsibility for maintaining the work. When the decades have had their work under steady Christian influence, as in Tinnevely or in the London Missionary Society's area in Travancore, one can but be impressed with the substantial character of the progress in every way.

Everywhere there is a gain in self-respect. One day a district superintendent of police was asking a certain missionary why the people had become Christians. It was suggested that he let them answer his question, and so he went over to a group of Christians. "What did you gain by becoming Chris-

tians?" "Ability to stand before you without being ashamed," was the self-respecting answer. With a changed estimate of himself, it is no wonder that all over India the outcaste who becomes a Christian is given a new standing by Hindus and Muhammadans. He ceases to be "untouchable." To raise these millions to a position of honor, self-respect, and service for the country is to attack Hinduism at its most vulnerable point. For Hinduism's last citadel is its social structure with its caste usages and laws.

Away off in France a Christian sweeper from the Punjab was serving in a regiment. Every morning at five he rose to read his Bible and chant his psalms. He was faithful. A Muhammadan in the regiment acknowledged that, if there were anyone among them who knew God, it was this sweeper. Sometimes a single center sends forth a group of this stamp. There is, near Fatehghar, a village called Elephant's House, where there was once a Christian community of three hundred and fifty people. Now only six families are left, for by actual count, from this humble outcaste quarter have come forth four preachers, fifteen teachers, thirty house-servants for Europeans, and two men who register the practice shots of soldiers. This does not pretend to be a typical case, but it shows what can be done under favorable circumstances.

In every area where these Panchamas have come *en masse* to Christianity, they have seen men and women of their own number growing in worth, rising in the social scale, and gaining a better life. They have seen their children learning to read; some have

gone on to high school and even through college. A few have obtained good posts under Government and many have become clerks, telegraphers, teachers, catechists, or ordained preachers.

In the early days of the mass movements, it was an exceedingly difficult thing for the isolated missionary to know whether he should start the innovation of receiving outcastes. What would other missionaries say? What would be the effect on the high castes? Would it at once and forever prejudice the whole work among higher castes to which hitherto missionaries had given their attention? Was there not danger of identifying Christianity with the most depressed classes of the community? It was with fear and trembling before God that the step was taken in the earlier movements.

Even as late as 1912 there was uncertainty as to what the general judgment would be about the resultant effect on the high castes. It was known that many Hindus had come to regard Christianity as the pariah's religion. Had the mass movements, therefore, become an actual hindrance to winning the major part of India? At the National Missionary Council of that year the testimony seemed conclusive that the transforming power of Christianity as shown in raising the outcastes of India was making a profound impression upon non-Christians. It is an object lesson that penetrates to their very homes. They cannot continue blind to the ethical results from an awakened spiritual life and to triumphant power over temptation when these things are manifested by their own agricultural laborers and menial

house-servants. A villager, referring to some out-castes who had come under the influence of Christianity but had not yet been baptized, was heard to remark, "Now that they have become the friends of Jesus, why should they not be better?" The struggle for an awakened conscience is reflected in their simple prayers. Each morning as the pineapples were ripening, a boy of Travancore was heard to pray, "O Lord, prevent me from taking any pineapple when passing by." A farm hand has prayed: "O God, let me live in peace with my master. Guard his property and let him always be pleased with me." Another offered the picturesque confession, "I have within me a useless thicket of wild shrubs." When unclean songs are given up and across the evening stillness comes the sound of hymn or psalm, a change in life is sure to follow. Undermining will yet bring down the whole hill.

Moreover, there is the unconscious witness of the Christian *mehtarani* or sweeper-woman as she goes into a village home for her accustomed work. To the more confined non-Christian women she is the newspaper of the place. She tells about the service of the night before and sings the hymn that was sung. It would be an interesting study to investigate the extent to which the Roman Empire was won by just such illiterate slaves who had learned of Christ by word of mouth. Behind almost every group of Christians gathered under the shade of a tree to listen to the missionary's message stands a group of caste men. They are unwilling to be considered as interested, for they turn away if the at-

tention of the speaker is given to them. But they too are catching the drift of a message about a wonderful rebirth possible even to the lowest.

IV

One cannot doubt the working of God's Spirit in their hearts when one sees the way these mass-movement Christians bear persecution. There are hosts of amazing and cruel ways in which caste men may discourage the step toward release through Christianity. Wells from which the Chamars have for centuries taken water are often closed so that they have to carry water from tanks or rivers. Sometimes their right to the common village grazing ground is disputed, or the road to the field is closed both to cattle and people. Cattle are poisoned, and the blame placed upon Christians. Men are beaten, roofs are burned, wages are held back. Police arrest them on false charges supported by their persecutors. A young convert is threatened with eviction from a house in which his fathers have lived for generations. Often when a mission school has been started in a village, a Christian woman is told that she must take her child out of school or lose her job.

Witnessing such cases of rank injustice, one's first impulse is to go to the collector or district superintendent of police and use influence to set things right. The general feeling, however, among missionaries is that this natural impulse must be restrained since in the long run more harm than good is done.

For one thing, many of the outcastes' customary rights, such as the privileges of residence, of gather-

ing wood, of taking mud from the village tank for houses, of sharing the grain at harvest, are given in return for the performance of certain immemorial duties. Manifestly, one should not attempt to judge these matters without being thoroughly familiar with the rights and duties of depressed peoples. It is possible to relieve an individual Christian, but at the same time incur the ill-will of a whole village toward all Christians. A particular case of injustice may seem so clear that it is taken up; but one has to face the certainty that it will be followed by a whole troupe of requests for aid and influence in the courts,—and sad experience has shown that baptism has not turned all these people into honest saints over night.

But even if a district missionary should hesitate to go to law in behalf of his persecuted flock, the needy situation is still there. It is one of his perennial problems. Should he work through his Indian agents and preachers-in-charge? Should he confine himself to sympathy and comfort for the poor, bruised man, realizing that out of this persecution is coming a stronger Church? In these trying situations should Christians be taught to stand up for their rights, or should they be encouraged to have a forgiving spirit and to pray for their persecutors? Perhaps it would be best to meet with the persecutor in a friendly way and endeavor to get him to see the matter from a different angle.

While some of the opposition is to Christianity as a religion, much of it arises from economic and social causes. For example, the outcastes are the back-bone of agricultural field labor. In the pres-

sure of harvest-time, the cessation of all labor one day in seven naturally does not please the farmer. As long as an outcaste is not a Christian, the flesh of a dead carcass serves as part payment for making the hide into sandals; but since becoming a Christian leads one to give up carrion eating, the wage system is manifestly upset. Only certain low castes will touch leather. It has been their immemorial duty, therefore, to repair and to beat the drums so essential in Hindu ceremonials and processions. Missionary practice has been somewhat divided on the question as to whether Christians must give up this community service with its emoluments. But if they do, it is easily seen that persecution may arise not because the caste people hate Christianity, but because their religious services cannot go on without the drums. Then, too, it irritates them to have the child of some despised Pariah sit in a prominent corner and show off by reading at the top of his voice, or even to pass through the bazaar reading. You can hear the zemindars (farmers) say of the Christians, "Soon their children will be badshahs, (kings) and we, their servants." Looking upon these people much as one would upon an ox or an ass, they naturally object when missionaries come in and take away their subservience.

V

Movements such as these raise many kinds of problems. The very numbers involved create an initial difficulty. Embarrassment comes from their very success. If illiterate people are admitted at the

rate of 20,000 per year, and a mission can turn out only twelve teachers or preachers a year, what should be done? Let us take a concrete situation. In 1915 in a certain station (Nizamabad) there were 300 Christians; in 1919, 6,000. Estimating an average of fifty Christians to a village, this would make desirable the development of *one hundred and fourteen new workers* for this district alone if each village is to have a worker of some sort, teacher, or preacher to help them out of their poverty, illiteracy, and demon worship. In this mission as a whole, baptisms have been made at the rate of 7,000 a year for the past three years. Whence shall come the teachers for these new thousands?

Let us take another typical situation in a mass movement area. The missionary in charge has two hundred villages to visit during the cold season, and his itinerary is laid out for months ahead. One day several lowcaste visitors turn up from a distant village. The leader takes from his cloth a stone idol which has been the chief god of the community. He reports that the whole outcaste section of his village is willing to come and "take hold of the feet of Jesus." But every worker is already pressed. Every available rupee given by the Churches of the West has been appropriated for schools and preachers needed for those already Christian. These new seekers after Jesus are illiterate, and so it is not practicable simply to provide them with Bibles and Sunday-school literature and throw them on their own resources. They do not know the Ten Commandments. They do not know the Lord's Prayer. Of what use is a baptized heathendom

unless there is the assurance of nurture and growth? Suppose a mother who has relapsed into idolatry explains: "My little girl got small-pox. I tried every way I could to learn what Christian mothers do when their little girls have small-pox, but I could not learn. I did not want my child to die. Not knowing what else to do, I took out the small-pox god, killed the hen, offered the blood, and burned the incense." We may not feel like reproaching the mother, but the awful risk of an unshepherded flock is manifest. Situations like these lie back of report after report from these mass movement areas of thousands, literally thousands, who could be taken into the Church if it were properly supported.

To many of the problems, the greatest wisdom and historical judgment should be brought. For example, in many centers these people seem to be in a hopeless economic situation. Laws and conditions are such that it is practically certain that they cannot get a place on the land. It seems almost a travesty to ask them to live and think as Christians, yet continue their present work suffocated in a blanket of scorn. How can they ever gain self-respect in their old environment? On the other hand, in the cities the factories are calling for labor. Shall the missionary be responsible for initiating a big labor migration, thus reducing the supply of workers in the villages, increasing the demand, and hence bettering the condition of those that remain? Or are the risks of bringing these former outcasts into an urban environment too great? Will it be better on the whole to leave things as they are and teach that he who "sweeps a room for Christ" does noble ser-

vice? It may seem best to attempt to find some way of raising the level of the depressed classes where they are. If so, will it be better, with limited funds, to raise the whole mass a little or to train a few intensively?

The Government in certain provinces makes an appropriation for the alleviation of the Panchamas. It is given because of their deplorable economic condition by a government quite neutral in religious matters. When they become Christians, technically they are not Panchamas. Both Government and missionaries are perplexed as to procedure, since the need of help is still there. In dealing with Government, shall they be called Panchamas; i.e., outcastes of Hinduism? Or shall they be called Christians and forego this aid?

If two or three people from a village come for baptism which, publicly given, will cut them off from their community and cause their influence largely to cease, would it be wise to receive them secretly? Another difficulty is the preservation of the rich and inner significance of baptism. Non-Christians in general have come to think of this ceremony as that which makes a Christian. Persecution usually begins after baptism. Hindus are not so concerned with what their friends believe, but they are tremendously concerned when this rite is administered. Where danger and non-Christian opinion so emphasize baptism, it is difficult even for Christians to realize that it is something in the life itself that should differentiate a Christian—something more than an initial ceremony.

A problem that has divided missionary practice

from the beginning is whether these men and women should be baptized as soon as they are willing to receive baptism, or whether there should be delay until they give proof of Christian faith and works. It is more difficult than deciding whether you would have baptized the Ethiopian eunuch. It sends one back to see what Paul and Peter did and to ask guidance as to what to do.

Many frankly allow early baptism. In the practice of certain missions, baptism has, therefore, almost lost its original significance. It marks the beginning of an opportunity for Christian instruction rather than its end. Many of these people in all their lives have never tried to learn anything, and hence find it exceedingly laborious to memorize the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, or the Ten Commandments. "Suffered under Pontius Pilate, dead, and buried" does not mean much to them. Their vocabulary is poor—a paltry list of words representing material objects. They are not used to abstract and spiritual ideas. "Yes," said a village woman to whom the old, old story was being told, "when you are here speaking to us, we seem to see it, but when you are gone, and we are hungry, food is all that we can think about." Difficulties such as these seem to justify a low standard of admission, and it is argued that the children, at least, may come under instruction. With reference to those baptized in middle life, a promise is remembered that where little is given, little will be required.

On the other hand, many missionaries and an increasing number of educated Indian Christians are alarmed lest caste and other non-Christian customs

may get their hold on the Church of India through too early baptism. Many feel that there is danger of cutting them adrift from old customs and restraints which had weight with them, before the new Christian controls have taken their place. Some fear that the way is opened to the use of unspiritual pressure when, for example, a group who seek baptism are told that they will not be received until all the outcaste quarter of their village comes with them. Such missionaries are jealous of the significance of the rite of baptism and want the standard of purity, knowledge, and character kept high.

Faced with the ignorance and servility of former demon-worshippers, it is no easy question to decide what should be the conditions upon which people will be admitted to the Church. It is a serious question, for we are told how certain missions took alarm at the enormous number of accessions and hence raised the standard of knowledge to be required of converts. The result was not only that the movement was checked, but that the congregations they already had began to die. To meet all such problems wisdom, forethought, and experience are needed, but above all, sensitiveness to the movement of God's Spirit.

VI

Today these masses are receptive. There is scarcely a limit to the numbers who would place themselves under instruction. But it is a time of passing opportunity. Various non-Christian organizations are determined to outflank the missionary movement by sweeping outcastes into Hinduism or

Muhammadanism. Still others are stimulated by political motives. Now that the principle of community representation has been introduced, both Hindus and Muhammadans naturally want to attach these millions to their groups. Still other non-Christians are influenced by the dominant national consciousness to relieve the wretched conditions of the depressed classes, since their very patriotism leads them to see that India cannot go far forward with such a drag upon it. Most significant of all is the fact that at last the conscience of India has been touched by what Christians have dared to attempt and have actually accomplished. Increasingly, from the highest motives, non-Christians are taking up the task of helping the Panchamas.

From the standpoint of urgency it is significant to note that, although the Indian National Congress did not recognize this problem in its platform until 1917, now all the important political parties in India are pledged to the elevation of the depressed classes. The Liberals have placed the uplift of the Untouchables in the very forefront of their program and have promised to bring it about by giving them special educational facilities. The Nationalists have declared themselves against untouchability and have promised full rights of citizenship to the depressed classes. The non-Brahman party attaches great importance to the emancipation of these submerged sections of the community, while the Non-Cooperators through their leader, Mahatma Gandhi, say that India is not worthy of attaining full self-government unless the stigma of untouchability is removed.

Public opinion is beginning to be aroused. A



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A CHRISTIAN CHURCH IN PESHAWAR

An interesting example, among a number now to be found, of the adaptation of Indian forms of architecture in the construction of Christian churches and schools.



VETERAN INDIAN PASTORS

Many more such loyal and faithful men would be available for Christian service if greater resources for training could be provided.

"Depressed Classes Mission Society," organized by Prarthana Samajists, but largely supported by Hindus, has been at work since 1906. The Panchamas themselves in various quarters are finding a voice to claim their right of being treated as human beings, thus showing that—as the Indian proverb runs— "The toad beneath the harrow knows exactly where each tooth-point goes." If the Christian Church fails to enter the doors now so widely open and win these people for Christ, they will, therefore, be absorbed by other religions, and the task of awakening them to their birthright will be vastly more difficult and long delayed. In any case, the problem is so vast and the prejudices and vested interests against them are so entrenched, that no one with the love of Christ within him can leave them to struggle up themselves. "Inasmuch as ye did it not unto one of the least of these, ye did it not unto me."

In the light of this urgent situation, face the undermanning of most missions. . It is a matter of record that certain mass movements have largely failed simply because the missions related to them were not sufficiently manned to conserve results.¹ Listen to the intense words of one worker. "I have been in this district three years and have not yet been able to get once around to the villages. I have roughly eight thousand Christians. In July and August the average number of requests for marriage ceremonies works out at twenty per week. To perform these marriages off in distant and scattered villages, reached by dusty and imperfect

¹*World Missionary Conference, 1910, Vol. I, p. 291.*

roads, there are only myself and one Indian deacon. Since the task is impossible of accomplishment, they go off and marry by heathen rites. *It is not the work that kills us, it is this weight of unmet need.*"

Boarding-schools have not sufficient accommodations for the boys and girls who might become future leaders. Education in the fullest sense of that term is the greatest need—education of the young and education of adults, education of leaders and education that will fit for going on with village life, education for citizenship in the new India and in the city of God.

Doors are so wide open that the whole of this depressed community might be led to start its long course upward in the school of Christ. Furthermore, it comes from such a low general level that it is a unique opportunity for a great object lesson—the application of the whole gospel to the whole man. The Church of Christ has had no greater opportunity presented to it.

Does our response to this situation justify for us the name—co-workers with God? If only we would set in motion available resources, human and divine, the ancient prophecy might be again fulfilled; "I will say to them which were not my people, Thou art my people; and they shall say, Thou art my God." The mass movements are an emergency and should be treated as an emergency in our praying and in our giving. As we look out upon these multitudes who will willingly come when we are ready to provide preachers and teachers to care for them, we can hear the Master's voice as plainly as it ever sounded in Galilee, "Give ye them to eat."

Prayer

WE praise Thee, O Father, for the glorious testimony to Thy transforming power which is changing the slaves of India into sons of God. Strengthen them in persecution and in those dark crises of plague or famine when old habits pull them back to their idols and worship of demons.

¶ May those who go to them be able to see through the dull and haunted faces the priceless worth of human life and love them. Give to us here the same spirit of insight that we may see beyond the squalor, the poverty, the ignorance, and superstition of these outcaste people to a future of developed dignity and worthfulness for them. Make us to care, O Lord, that through no selfishness or indifference we may refuse help to those outstretched arms.

¶ Father, we catch glimpses of ourselves in the outcastes of India. Unexpectant of Thy riches, we also have been content with the lower levels of daily living. Awaken us, O Lord, blow upon us with Thy Spirit that our soul-life may be quickened until we also reach out for help. Forbid that we shall miss the miracle of transformation, for Thy power which looketh upon wasted lives in far-off India is available for us today. May our faces catch the Light; may our hearts flame with Thy love; may our lives reflect Thy Spirit, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

CHAPTER SIX

The Indian Church

I

WHEN we think of India, or of any non-Christian land, what should be the absorbing center of our thought? When we pray for the growth of the Kingdom, shall we remember only or primarily our boards, our missionaries, and their work? When we read pamphlets and magazines and reports on missions, should we be content to have them focus attention on missionary institutions and personnel abroad and survey the work from the standpoint of their problems, their needs, and their triumphs? Or should we educate ourselves to regard something else as the central factor in the situation?

If the world-task is the development of a divine society of which God is the father-like ruler, and of which ministrant, cooperative love is the vitalizing principle, we can see how the center of gravity of our thought should be the development of this spiritual society in the land we are considering. The goal toward which we move is Christian fellowship characterized by love and mutual service and continuously enriched by the special gifts which each can contribute. The most effective Christian witness is such a Christian society. On the purely practical plane, also, a Christian society is necessary, since the stupendous task before us will never be accomplished by the isolated exertions of individual Christians.

In India, therefore, the focus of our interest

should be the Indian Church.¹ The time is at hand when India is going to be influenced to accept Christ primarily by the witness of her own people—that is, by the Indian Church. Friends from the West will still be most urgently needed to help, to counsel, to train, to educate, to share experience and aspiration. But conditions in India and the growth of the Christian Church are causing Christianity's frontal attack to pass out of the hands of the missionary. This enables the missionary appeal to become more unselfish even than in the past. Its present numbers are not a matter of primary concern—some five millions, or, roughly, one in seventy of the population, over half of whom are the outgrowth of American mission work; nor even is its rate of growth of first importance—varying from twenty-two per cent to thirty-four per cent during the four decades from 1871 to 1911. These figures enable us to realize a most significant fact that an Indian Church does exist. But there is a more vital question than numbers. Is it the kind of Church that in due time can win India to fellowship in the world-wide Christian society?

II

Such a victorious Church must be of the soil, expressing its faith in its own characteristic ways—that is, indigenous. Just as in Europe Christianity developed a Latin, a Greek, and a Teutonic type, so there will likely be a Japanese, a Chinese, and an Indian type of Christianity when it has gripped the

¹Toward this end I would strongly recommend the reading of Indian Christian biography. See Bibliography.

very soul of each people. Are there signs that Christianity has become naturalized and that Indian Christians have begun to clothe it in thought-forms and institutions which have been immemorial expressions of Indian religious life? More fundamental even than the assumption of Oriental forms is the birth of the conviction in the people themselves that Christ alone can save India. Let two lives—Narayan Vaman Tilak and Sadhu Sundar Singh—illustrate the modern trend toward an indigenous Church.

N. V. Tilak, at his death in 1919, was the most influential Christian leader and teacher in western India, in fact one of the most notable figures that Indian Christianity has yet produced. One of the sources of his power was his remarkable poetic gift. He sang his way with the Christian message into the hearts of the people. His simple, beautiful, vital, vernacular verse clung in the memory of India's music-loving soul. His hymns and songs were caught up in the market-place as well as the church, lifting thousands of Christians to greater heights of devotion and bringing many non-Christians to the Master. Only those who know of India's passionate love of poetry and of song, and have therefore coveted the gift of music for the Christian Church, can appreciate the service he has rendered in putting into verse the Sermon on the Mount and the life of Christ.

A second great endeavor of his life was to give a truly Indian expression to Christianity. He came into a weak church, which was neither Indian nor European, and which was tending to adopt Western

dress and Western customs. With wonderful resourcefulness and zest, he devoted himself to stem the tide toward denationalism. By pen, by voice, by acts, he showed that in becoming a Christian one need not necessarily become a traitor to one's heritage. To him Christ was an Oriental, who came to fulfil the highest longings of Hinduism. He was proud of all that was best in India's history and traditions, and gladly claimed himself a child of her great culture. Through him more festivals, so loved in India, were introduced into the Christian year; and forms of worship more in harmony with the Indian spirit were started in the villages.

His love of country was intense and contagious. This was carried over from his youth as a Brahman. In fact it was patriotism rather than personal need that first led him to be a Christian. Tilak became a follower of Jesus to save his country. He was a mediator not only between ruler and ruled, but between Christian and non-Christian, calling the growing Christian community to play its part in the great events of India's life. His last message, dictated just before his death, was an appeal to his countrymen to take the spirit of Christ into their politics. This unquestioned love of India created in non-Christians a new respect for followers of the Christ.

But most precious of all was the way in which through song he sought to enter into fellowship with God. The Marathi hymn-book is colored beyond anything we possess by the hymns he wrote on the subject of union and communion with God. He gave passionate poetic utterance to the solace found

in a divine Companion. Those who know India will recognize at once that in this seeking after God, that is neither ascetic nor yet intellectual, he was one of India's great *Bhaktas* (devotees). He differed, however, from those longing searchers in the rest and victory which he discovered in Christ.

One of his poems, thought to contain the essence of his message, though missing in its English translation the singing quality of the original, is as follows:

INSATIATE

The more I win Thee, Lord, the more for Thee I pine;
 Ah, such a heart is mine!
 My eyes behold Thee and are filled, and straightway then
 Their hunger wakes again!
 My arms have clasped Thee and should set Thee free, but
 no,
 I cannot let Thee go!
 Thou dwell'st within my heart. Forthwith anew the fire
 Burns of my soul's desire.
 Lord Jesus Christ, Beloved, tell, O tell me true,
 What shall Thy servant do?

Another beautifully reveals his strong love of country combined with a passionate loyalty to Jesus:

MY MOTHERLAND

My mother is the land of Hind, and all her children are
 diamonds and rubies to me.
 My heart is absorbed in these precious jewels.
 Some are buried deep in rubbish heaps and some still lie
 hidden in earth's depths;
 Some decorate Hind's princely crowns,
 But all, all I long to love—I, the servant of my motherland.
 I have a message I must tell out. Listen, all ye children of
 the Hind!
 All, all is vain without Christ.
 Only if He fill our heart till it o'erflow,
 Only then can we understand what God means us to be
 and do!
 'Tis Jesus who makes the true patriot;
 So I—His servant—am the servant of my motherland.

Who, then, was this Tilak? He was born in a Brahman home, and for thirty-three of his fifty-seven years he was a Hindu. His mother early impressed upon him the fear of God, and her life was such that Mr. Tilak often declared that he had never known any woman so perfect as his mother. Another powerful influence in his early years was a famous Hindu scholar under whom he studied and with whom he delved deep into Sanskrit learning. Believing that idolatry, pantheism, and caste were holding back his country, he passionately repudiated them and began to search for a more satisfying religion. Several years were spent in pilgriming from one part of India to another, searching for a satisfying religion.

When about twenty-two years of age, he met by chance, in a railway train, an unknown European who, in their brief conversation, opened up the significance of Christ, leaving with him a New Testament. From that time he began to study the life of Christ. He has told us how he was affected when for the first time he came across the Sermon on the Mount. "I could not tear myself away from those sentences, so full of charm and beauty, which express the love and tenderness and truth that the sermon conveys. In these three chapters I found answers to the most abstruse problems of Hindu philosophy. It swayed me to see how here the most profound problems were completely solved. I went on eagerly reading to the last page of the Bible that I might learn more of Christ." As a result of becoming a Christian, Tilak lost his position and was reduced to poverty. Wife and child refused to live

with him. Finally, in 1895, he publicly professed his faith in Christ. Thus began his leadership of the Christian Church and the revelation of what Indian Christianity might become.

III

A figure that has even more caught the imagination of India is that of Sadhu Sundar Singh. Barefooted, robed in saffron, ever traveling, with no center acknowledged as home, living from the alms of those who see his need, the Sadhu at once suggests one of India's many ascetic mendicants. His countenance is singularly sweet and benign, and to many he recalls traditional pictures of Jesus. St. Francis of Assisi is the nearest Western type. The narrative of his life reads like a page from the Bible. In fastings, in peril of rivers, in peril of robbers, in journeyings often, in persecutions, in imprisonings, bound, beaten, stoned, fed as by miracle, released inexplicably, Sadhu Sundar Singh bears the marks of a friend of Christ.

Sundar Singh deliberately attempts to Indianize Christianity. He prefers that Indian Christians should sit on the floor in church; that they should remove their shoes instead of their turbans; that Indian music should be sung; and that long, informal talks should take the place of sermons. It is, however, his adoption of the life of a *sadhu* or typical holy man of India, that is his most striking contribution. It releases him from the distractions of worldly cares, gives a sense of freedom, and to Sundar Singh it is the best way of commending the gospel to the multitudes of India. It might be called

moneyless evangelism. The Indian Church has shown its readiness to welcome a Christian sadhuism, although as yet scarcely more than a dozen examples can be found within its circle.

The Sadhu constantly uses word pictures in his teaching, and by this characteristically Eastern method, he gives his reason for Indianizing Christianity. "Once when I was traveling in Rajputana there was a Brahman of high caste hurrying to the station. Overcome by the great heat, he fell down on the platform. The Anglo-Indian station-master, anxious to help him, offered him water in a Western cup. But the Brahman would not take the water, although he was very thirsty. 'I cannot drink that water. I would prefer to die.' 'I am not asking you to eat the cup,' the station master said to him. 'I will not break my caste,' he said, 'I am willing to die.' When, however, the water was brought to him in his own brass vessel, he drank it eagerly. It is the same with the Water of Life. Indians do need the Water of Life, but not in the European cup."

For seventeen years Sundar Singh has traveled over the length and breadth of India—with short visits to Japan, Britain, and America. Probably no Indian Christian has made so deep and so wide an impression on his native land. With abundance of picturesque illustration and parable, with a directness and simplicity of spiritual perception which impresses everyone who hears him, he has borne most effective testimony to the power of Christ.

We may well inquire what was the early training that enabled him to bring a new emphasis into the

Indian Church. The Sadhu was born in 1889, his parents being Sikhs of high birth and great wealth. His mother constantly held before him the ideal of India's "holy men," bidding him abandon the things of this world and strive to obtain inner peace. At seven years of age he had committed to memory all the *Bhagavad Gita*—the most popular and influential scripture of Hinduism. At sixteen years of age, after a period of bitter opposition to Christianity, during which he tore up the Bible or burned it when he had a chance, he became a Christian. Then began his presentation of his newly found religion in a characteristic Hindu way—wandering from place to place, possessing nothing but his robe, his blanket, and a copy of the New Testament. Thus did his mother's ideal bear fruit in the Christian Church.

IV

The relation of the Christian Church to nationalism is naturally a matter of importance. We saw in the second chapter that there are certain serious handicaps on India's progress. The Christian community is making more actual advance in removing these drags on national attainment than any other religious group. Let figures with reference to education illustrate this fact. Among Christians there are twice as many literate men and twelve times as many literate women per thousand as among the Hindus. In the advanced classes of mission high schools many hundreds of Christian girls are enjoying a little of that healthy, care-free girlhood which we value for our children, while their non-Christian sisters—Garland-of-Pearls, Playing-Moon-

Beams, and Shanti (Peace)—are suffering the cruel injustice of early motherhood. "School goer" is the local name for a Christian in one area. The mail coming and going from the little Christian community in many a village is greater than that of a dozen neighboring non-Christian villages. Having emerged in general from an illiterate class, these villagers could not have attained this relatively high literacy without considerable parental sacrifice and vision. Moreover, they have given to the country schoolmasters and schoolmistresses out of all proportion to their numbers. In their accomplishments toward abolishing illiteracy, therefore, Christians may be considered true patriots.

But in more direct ways the Christian leaders are identifying themselves with India's welfare. The father of constitutional agitation in India was the late Krishna Mohan Bannerjea, D. L., one of Alexander Duff's converts. In a recent volume on *India's Nation Builders* one chapter out of the fifteen is given to Kali Charan Banurji (1847-1907), who exerted a powerful influence on the public life of Calcutta and manifested devotion and loyalty to the cause of India as long as he lived. Moreover, the very machinery of representative church government which has been introduced by many denominations is playing a very important part in training for political self-government, just as it did in Colonial days in the United States.

From the Christian community have come members of the legislative council, judges of the law courts, scores of government servants as magistrates, sub-magistrates, doctors, and engineers, and

members of city and town municipal councils. When the reforms went into operation in 1920, the Hindu governor of Behar and Orissa appointed a Christian as one of his ministers. Every year an increasing number of Indian Christians are being sent to the Indian National Congress. An "All-India Conference of Indian Christians" has been held annually since 1914. Between fifty and sixty delegates come together to discuss such questions as the disabilities of Christians, the revision of the Christian marriage act, various representations to Government, means of fostering public opinion, and the development of the intellectual, moral, economic, and industrial resources of the country. Compared with twenty years ago, there is more attention given on the part of the Christian community to Indian dress and Indian names.

The reforms have brought a very difficult problem to Indian Christians. With a greatly increased voting constituency, the Government has introduced for certain communities the privilege of separate electorates. In other words, in order to safeguard the interest of a given community, the Government sets aside for it a certain number of seats in the legislative council and gives this community exclusive vote for such seats. A great problem for the members of the Christian community is, whether they shall seek this privilege or not. Many hold that the self-interests of the Christian community demand this separate representation. Others feel that the acceptance of Jesus Christ should not compel a man to cut himself off politically from his fellow countrymen. They hold that a separate electorate is a

selfish expedient, and tends to segregate them from their fellow countrymen. Christians, in their opinion, can exhibit something higher than a scramble for power and place—something nobler than a struggle for privileges and posts ear-marked for themselves. They would like to merge their political interests absolutely with the non-Christians, and seek every opportunity to serve their country without the assurance of reward.

No one could claim that Indian Christians have yet attained an outstanding place in shaping India's national development. One can, however, say that their part is creditable and full of hope, considering the size of the community and the level from which it has mainly come. When we remember that the Church's capacity for influencing the nation depends upon the character of its leaders more than upon its size, the importance of missionary education can at once be appreciated. Never before has the public life of India needed the help of Christian character and leadership more than in these days of growth and change. To what quarter shall she look for honest citizens, for unselfish politicians, and for men with trustworthy motives, unless it be to the Christian body?

V

One great difficulty with the Church in India today is that it is shot through with Western denominationalism. One hundred and twenty-four different societies have been engaged in evangelizing India, and the religion they have come to give is one which has found divided expression in the West.

Missionaries, therefore, have been busy reproducing in India the several denominations which sent them out—Anglicans and Methodists, Baptists and Roman Catholics, Lutherans and Presbyterians. Each is doubtless contributing much to the Church that is to be in India, but the Western denominationalism, in its unchanged, imported multiplicity, is unfortunate. In many cases a given denomination is limited to the area where a certain mission works, and hence for such there can be no easy sense of an All-India Church. To some Christian leaders the fact that their Church is not an All-India organization is its greatest defect. This condition should not lead us to give less support to the work of our particular denomination in India, but it should make us eager to encourage any wise movement toward union on the field.

Threatened by the great religions of India, the small Christian minority is driven together as Christians are not in the West. To many Indians their denomination is a mere matter of geography, betokening no more than that their birthplace was in the area taken over by a certain mission. A group of four thousand non-Christians in a certain area wanted to be baptized. The region in which they lived was occupied by two adjoining missions between which there was no expression of spiritual hospitality. United in their previous caste feeling, these converts were divided in the Church. When intelligent Christians from different areas come together, it is inevitable that Western denominational restrictions on fellowship and communion

irritate. To many a high-caste convert, our divided, almost competitive sections of Christendom come as a distinct shock. Expecting to find peace in one brotherhood under one Leader, they find a set of negotiating factions. There is a growing recognition that it is the fundamentals of the gospel, and not its Western interpretations, that must form the basis of the missionary message.

The spirit of union, however, is abroad in India. Most of the thirteen different Presbyterian bodies have come together into a single, independent Church. A still more notable union is the young and vigorous South India United Church made up of Christians associated with British, Australian, German, and American missions and including Presbyterian, Reformed, and Congregational groups. For several years this Church has been carrying on negotiations with the Church of England and the Mar Thoma Syrian Church for a still more comprehensive union in south India. For the Indians such steps are in the way of union,—not reunion, since historically they are not dissenters. But it is noticeable that since the tide of nationalism has come in, the question of church union does not interest the younger Christian leaders. Doubtless our fathers would have found it difficult to throw themselves into such a problem during the days preceding 1776. It is hoped that progress toward a united national Church in India will not be at the price of loss of communion with the churches of Christ in other lands.

VI

The Indian Church is faced with a variety of problems. One danger is that the Christian Church may not be distinguished from the Christian community. It is a land where religion sharply divides the people. It is taken for granted that the son of a Hindu is a Hindu; the son of a Muhammadan is a Moslem. Similarly, individual decision with regard to religion is not expected in the son of a Christian. He is a Christian by birth and as a matter of course. The danger is that the bond of union in the Church may not be a common loyalty to Christ, but membership in a social group with civil laws and social usages of its own.

The Indian Church has its race question. In the presence of the prestige and moral influence of Western missionaries, how is the Church to be given freedom of development? How, without fatally dividing the Church on racial lines, is it possible to see that Indian thought and Indian enterprise be not stifled by the weight and authority of their foreign brethren? These are burning questions in India. Many Indian Christian leaders feel that, while direction in many spheres has been passing to Indian hands during the past two years, this movement has lagged in mission and Church.

The use of the word "community" may be misleading, for it tends to make us think that there is a single thing corresponding to a single word. As a matter of fact, the Christian community is made up of many "societies" more or less loosely connected, with different customs, traditions, and aspirations. This appears most plainly in the survival of caste

within the Church—a problem Protestants inherit from the practice permitted by the early Roman missions of the sixteenth century. For example, there are two main castes in the Telugu area from which Christians come—the Malas and Madigas. These heartily despise one another. The worst abuse a Mala can give another is to call him a Madiga. Even after becoming a Christian it is hard to lay aside these deeply ingrained prejudices. A devout Christian Mala woman only after two years of spiritual struggle gained her victory and consented to eat in the same room with Madiga Christians. A crisis in administration arose in one area when a Mala congregation refused to have its marriages performed by its Madiga pastor. Converts of higher castes have been known to seat themselves at the communion services so that the cup will reach them before converts from certain lower castes. Adult Christians have beat their breasts at the thought of taking water from the same well as Christians of a lower origin. “What will our relatives think of us when they know it?” Boarding-school children have struck when children of a caste heretofore non-Christian have been introduced. Many Christians feel a physical repulsion to certain occupations and cannot bear, for example, to sit beside the despised leather workers. The whole caste problem is more acute in south India than in the north.

While practically all Protestant missions are absolutely clear that caste is inconsistent with the Christian spirit and should not be tolerated, certain practical problems arise. Is it wise for us to exert pressure to secure interdining and intermarriage

between Christians of different castes? Or should we let their old limitations and prejudices be sloughed off as the spirit of Christ gets increasing mastery of their lives? Is it best to erase from church records all trace of the caste from which a convert has come, and to discourage the retention of names indicative of caste? These measures would do away with some of the external data upon which caste distinctions within the church thrive; but is there danger that in obliterating family tradition and history, there would be a lessening of self-respect which frequently degenerates into pride, but which is in itself a virtue?

To the educated and cultured section of the Christian community, the mass movements present a severe test—a test which, on the whole, they are very nobly meeting. Let us catch their problem. Christian leaders naturally are eager for their community's advancement and for the discovery and expression of a spirit worthy of Indian Christianity. It is easy to see how they might chafe at the dilution of their group by a flood of immobile and inarticulate outcaste converts. Such additions inevitably lower the literacy percentage and general standards. In the present condition of rather tense feeling between Indians and Westerners, some Christian leaders are inclined to resent the fact that it is largely a foreign agency that has been guiding these mass movements. As one of them said, "It is like a foreigner deciding who shall come into my drawing-room and associate with my children, without giving me any choice in the selection or invitation." The analogy is not exact, but it serves to show the prob-

lem. Many missions are now devising ways by which all or practically all their work can be carried out under the advice and even under the control of representatives of the Indian Church. What criticism there is of the mass movements usually disappears when these representatives face the problems and take part in the discussions from the inside.

When we pray that the Indian Church may have light on the great problem of caste within the Church, let us not forget our own similar needs. America has its great racial problems. There are classes and races that are by no means sure that they would receive a cordial welcome into pews of our churches, and with whom many would not want to interdine. Suppose Indian Christians should gain a victory over their caste prejudices and from the vantage point of distance should be able dispassionately to see what our Christian duty is in America, would we be willing to receive their prayers and messengers in the spirit in which we want them to welcome ours?

Again the question arises for Christians as to whether they shall live in more or less separated groups, or in the streets and bazaars with their non-Christian fellow countrymen. In the one case, they preserve their young people from the contamination of the bazaar and secure greater freedom of social life and intercourse, especially for the women. But if they live in close contact with non-Christians, they tend to avoid the selfish and self-satisfied attitude that is apt to develop in an isolated Christian group, they have a much more natural opportunity for influencing their Hindu and Muham-

madan neighbors, and the unfortunate impression of denationalization is likely to be less. The same question arises in connection with college dormitories. The National Missionary Council in 1913 advised mingling Christian and non-Christian students both in class-room and in boarding-halls at college grade. But in certain centers this is strenuously opposed by the Christian community.

A very vital question is whether the Indian Church is able to finance itself. The answer here is disappointing. One board that has conducted work in India for eighty-seven years and whose annual expenditure there amounts to \$520,000 has only five churches in all India that are self-supporting. After investigation, the Wesleyan Methodists of the Hyderabad District found that the contribution of the Indian Church in their area to the support of its ministry varied from one twelfth to one sixth of the total cost. Their considered judgment was that with effort and good management this proportion could be raised in three or four years only to a general average of one fifth.

Manifestly, Western churches cannot indefinitely expand their work on this basis. Somewhere there will come a financial limit, so that a remedy must be found. The main cause of this dependent condition is the extreme poverty of the people. Most missions now see that a very definite part of their ministry must be planning a type of education that will result in raising the economic level of the people so that a self-supporting church may be possible. No service to the Indian Church can be complete without taking her economic conditions into account. Fur-

thermore, dearly bought experience is bearing fruit so that the dangers of pauperization are now widely recognized. Many are wisely emphasizing *from the first* this matter of self-support, and ways of giving unfamiliar to the West have become common, such as, gifts in kind, rice set aside meal by meal in little bags, assessment of plows, dedication of coconut trees or fowls, first fruits, harvest festivals, or the refusal to proclaim the banns if a young man is in arrears in his church offering. In areas where a large number of Christians were recruited for the labor corps and for the army during the War, a considerable amount of money came into the hands of Christians. The fact that the income of the Church was favorably affected shows that, with improvement in the earning capacity of the villager, the indigenous support of the Church becomes more practicable and possible.

The rapid economic change and uplift of the Christian community have their own danger. Christianity has brought a new spirit of freedom and of effort. With it for many have come a change of status and new opportunities. The considerable body of Christian clerks, traders, schoolmasters and small landowners is being continuously recruited from the bottom upwards. This process is bound to be present when you bring the stimulus of Christianity and the needs of mass movements together. Under these circumstances Indian Christianity should receive special help to avoid the emergence of an ultra-practical or even a somewhat worldly and materialistic type of religion.

Christians have to face many problems connected

with the family. They generally give up the joint family system—where sons and grandsons bring their wives to the father's house—and adopt the Western plan instead. But this is far less economical, and difficulties of adjustment are inevitable in the transition stage. Poverty leads some Christians to betroth their daughters for money, as do the non-Christians about them. Since a Muhammadan marriage is automatically dissolved when one or both parties change religion, should a Muhammadan couple be remarried after either has received baptism? Should the Church excommunicate a man who marries a non-Christian woman? What was Paul's practice in this regard? Would the fact that we expect the Hindu and Muhammadan to have religious toleration affect this question?

There is great need of revision of the laws relating to Christian marriage. For example, Hindu law permits no divorce. If the marriage of certain Christians took place before conversion in accordance with Hindu rites, there can be no relief through divorce even when unfaithfulness is proved according to existing statute law.

There is the perennial question as to what should be done when a man with more than one wife applies for baptism. Shall he be asked to set aside all but one wife and thus work hardship on upright women who married him in good faith? Shall he be received with all his wives and thus risk the purity of the Church? Or shall he be asked to attend the services, but wait outside the fellowship of the Lord's Supper? And if he is refused Church membership because he has more than one wife, shall

the wives be admitted because they have only one husband?

VII

All over India one can find exceedingly interesting and valuable pieces of work being done by Indian Christians. One of the most stimulating places under Indian management that one can visit is Dornakal, in the Dominions of the Nizam of Hyderabad. This is the center of the diocese of the Rt. Rev. V. S. Azariah, consecrated in 1912 as the first Indian Bishop of the Church of England. His Manual Training Institute¹ has been developed on lines that are attracting attention, and the spirit and methods of work of this wise executive are full of suggestion for all those who are working in India.

In the Punjab is a missionary district which for forty-eight years was under the superintendence of Rev. Kali Charan Chatterjee, first Moderator (1904) of the Presbyterian Church in India, and the recipient of the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Washington and Jefferson College in 1901, and from the University of Edinburgh in 1910. Dr. Chatterjee came from the highest Brahman caste. As a boy he was deeply influenced by his aunt, who had been a widow from her childhood and gave much of her time to prayer, to memorizing the Shastras, and to alms-giving. As a result of Christian teaching in a mission high school, he was baptized on entering Alexander Duff's college in Calcutta. In consequence, this boy of fifteen was cast out by relatives and friends, who regarded him as dead and worse. In

¹See *Schools with a Message in India*, Chapter III.

time he married a consecrated Christian girl and then began a life of wonderfully blessed service rendered by the devoted pair. He was placed by the Presbyterian Mission in charge of the Hoshyarpur district. This area included 900,000 inhabitants scattered in 2,117 villages. Much of the work was among the outcastes. For over fifty years this Christian leader of Brahman birth, strove among them to build up the Church. He had good gifts of organization and left behind him at his death in 1916 churches with over three thousand Christians, although he had started out with none. No one who had ever seen his tall, venerable figure with the long, flowing beard, clear, tranquil eyes, and kindly, dignified bearing could ever forget the noble Christian spirit manifested there.

In Bombay is a dispensary of the American Board under the charge of Dr. Gurabai, who for over thirty years has been helping to minister to the needs of this great city. Her husband, the late Rev. Sumant Rao Karmarkar, was one of the first Indian Christians to come to America for study. He became known as "the St. John of Western India," and as a distinguished evangelist was asked to go to Japan to an international conference. Dr. Gurabai received her medical training in Philadelphia. In 1914 she represented India in the World's Y. W. C. A. Conference in Stockholm; and in 1917 came to America as a Christian representative from India to the jubilee meeting of the Congregational Woman's Board of Missions. An inspiring international touch is found in the fact that her brilliant adopted son, Dr. Vishwas Karmarker, gave his life in unselfish ser-

vice to America, during the influenza epidemic of 1918. Letters of recognition and appreciation came to her from the Mayor of Pittsburgh and the Governor of Pennsylvania after his death.

Off in one of the Punjab's quiet little villages—by name Asrapur, or the "Village of Hope"—a steady, pervasive piece of work has been going on for thirty-two years largely under the direction of Miss Kheroth Bose, of the Zenana Bible and Medical Mission. A testimony to the value placed upon her sound judgment is the fact that she has been one of the Indian members of the Missionary Council for All-India from its beginning in 1913. Government has bestowed upon her the Kaisar-i-Hind silver medal.

Her hospital in the Village of Hope is an object lesson in love for that whole region. The proudest and most bigoted find that money and position can bring them no more of the physician's attention and care than is given to the poorest. Each one of the staff, from the doctor down to the youngest nurse, takes a share in the spiritual work,—singing hymns, explaining pictures, or giving addresses. Since all the servants and helpers are Christian, the patients come into a Christian atmosphere and find a new interpretation of womanhood in the happy, useful lives of the Christian women. In the same way women in the early Church filled a place and performed a part at which the pagan world wondered. On Sunday, the patients who are able go to the near-by chapel, where the hymns are lined out verse by verse, as is the custom for those who cannot read. Many have learned so to love this Sunday service that long after completing their treatment, they have

returned for the week-end to catch again the spirit of Asrapur. Sometimes as many as forty villages will be represented among those who come in a single morning to the hospital. Hence, as one itinerates about the area, in village after village one comes across former patients and old friends of Miss Bose, who treasure in their hearts memories of prayer or verses of hymns that they have heard at her hospital.

In this Indian-managed center, with its wonderful spirit of simplicity, understanding, and sympathy is held each year the Prem Sangat Mela—a gathering of religious-minded people of whatever creed or race. Men and women come from far and near. The chairman is usually a non-Christian of good repute. It is agreed that all who come shall call one another brethren in the spirit of love; that speakers may say frankly what they believe or have experienced about their own faiths, and especially on sin and its remedy. Singing both of Christian and non-Christian hymns forms part of the program. The Indian pastor, Rev. Wadhawa Mal, who has been the moving spirit in the Mela, attributes much of the tolerance to the influence of the hospital to which women of all classes come. Prejudice and bigotry against Christ are breaking down since all who come to the Mela are guests. On their return home, the people welcome Christian workers, and many begin to read the Bible. One great feature of this Christianized Indian Mela is that women come with the men to hear the same message—a step toward the realization of higher family life. Christians go to this Mela, not only to teach, but because

they feel that they have something to learn from others who are living devoutly according to their lights. They are thus discovering how to interpret that aspect of the gospel which especially meets the needs of their non-Christian friends. The decided Christian atmosphere of these gatherings along with the very explicit Christian witness is exciting a marked influence on that whole region.

Noteworthy work by Indian Christians is by no means all connected with missions. A Christian visitor to India should not think of passing through Poona without seeking to see St. Helena's School under the charge of Miss Susie Sorabji, the distinguished daughter of an early Parsee convert. You will be interested from the time when a shower of rose-leaves gives you welcome until you are taken out to see the geography lesson in the yard. A relief map of India has been formed in the sand with water surrounding it. One child will recite on the exports of India, and as she does so, taking a toy boat, she wades barefooted through the ocean to a port at Karachi, Bombay, or Calcutta. She loads her ship with such exports as tea, rice, cotton, etc., actually picking these up from the proper locations and taking them to the toy boat which lies in the harbor.

One could ask no greater privilege for a visitor to the very picturesque city of Lahore, than to be guided through one of its thirteen gates into its narrow, winding lanes between tall buildings with their carved and artistic balconies to the old palace of Nau Nihal Singh. From its terraced roofs one can look out over that crowded city dotted with

mosques and temples. This old relic of Sikh glory is now used as a school for eleven hundred non-Christian girls, and here lives Miss Mona Bose, its Christian head, who for over thirty years has been trusted by the non-Christian committee with the management of their school. Who can measure the Christian influence of this dignified, cultured woman who continues to live within the walled city in close contact with non-Christian homes and far removed from the freer, more open and congenial Christian centers outside the walls?

At Benares, sacred city of the Hindus, where Brahmanism displays itself in the fulness of its power, and where temples and idols, symbols and sacred wells abound on every side, one finds a Christian secretary of the municipality. Rai Bahadur A. C. Mukerjee has been repeatedly chosen for this important post by his non-Christian fellow-citizens because they value his sterling character and unselfish service. He is also managing director of the district cooperative bank, whose other officials—except one Britisher—are Hindus, and he is an influential member of the Provincial Committee on Cooperative Societies.

In the last decade long steps have been taken in Indianizing the Christian Association work in India. Since 1916, Mr. K. T. Paul, constructive thinker and Christian statesman, has been General Secretary of the Y.M.C.A. The editor of the *Young Men of India* since 1919 has been Dr. S. K. Datta, author of *The Desire of India*, whose advice has been more than once sought by government commissions, and whose spiritual and prophetic addresses have been the in-

spiration of many a conference in Britain and India.

Fifty years ago a high-caste Hindu youth of twenty-four, after a sleepless night spent in prayer, started to an appointed place for baptism only to be assaulted, carried away by a mob, and made prisoner in his own home. Later, when success and recognition made it possible, he built a beautiful home near the very tree where he had been beaten on becoming a Christian, and out from his large and happy family of fourteen have gone streams of Christian influence. One daughter, Miss Mohini 'Maya Das, after graduating from Mt. Holyoke and serving as principal of the Kinnaird College in Lahore, has become General Secretary of the Y.W.C.A. for all India.

Some day a history of the Church in India will be written from the Indian standpoint. It will mean a great advance in the intelligence of missionary interest in the West when we have trained our imagination to see the growth of the Kingdom from the standpoint of the people of the various mission lands. When this is done, Carey's great work will be mentioned; but we will see in clearer outline than at present his first convert, Krishna Chandra Pal, one of whose hymns has been translated:

O thou, my soul, forget no more
The Friend who all thy sorrows bore.
Let every idol be forgot;
But, O my soul, forget Him not.

Judson's pioneer work in Burma will be recognized, but his famous convert, Ko Thah-byu, will be emphasized. The United Presbyterian Mission has carried on most excellent work among the out-

castes of the Punjab, but the Indian Church will want to know more about Ditt of the much despised Chuhra caste, a dark little man, lame of one leg, who with quiet and modest manner and with sincerity and earnestness of purpose went about his business of buying and selling hides; and along with this started the great mass movement in that area. A place will be given to Bhaktula Abraham, the first convert in the S. P. G. Telugu work, who led the whole outcaste community of his village to accept the gospel. Other centers followed this example; and thus began a mass movement which has continued to advance through sixty years.

In such a history of the Indian Church Pandita Ramabai will stand out as the greatest Indian Christian of this generation. In her long, toilsome pilgrimages, in her arduous search through the entire range of Sanskrit literature for some satisfying truth, the Church will see the impotence of Hinduism taken at its highest. In her remarkable combination of executive, intellectual, and religious powers; in her great work near Poona for thousands of India's widows; in her unhesitating loyalty to Jesus Christ and her humble, devoted service for Him; in what she is even more than in what she has done, the world may see what an Indian soul may be when possessed by Christ.

Here we can merely name a few out of many worthy of mention. But such a history will tell us much more of Ram Chandra Bose who became an evangelist under the American Methodists rather than pursue to high position his career as an educa-



MISS CORNELIA SORABJI

One of seven distinguished daughters of an early Parsee convert, the first lady barrister of India, and now serving for the Government of India in the Court of Wards, Calcutta, where she is the guardian and friend of widowed Rani (Queens) and baby Rajahs (Kings). She is a powerful advocate and a brilliant writer, as is testified by her illuminating books interpreting the women and children of India—*tween the Twilights, Love and Life Behind the Purdah, and Sun Babies.*



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THE BISHOP OF DORNAKAL

The lives and distinguished service of devoted and statesmanlike Christians such as the Rt. Rev. V. S. Azariah give hope that the powers and responsibilities of missions may increasingly be transferred to the Indian Church.

tor; of Ram Chandra, known in foreign universities for his work on problems of maxima and minima; of Rajah Sir Harnam Singh Ahluwalia, K.C.I.E., who gave up being ruling prince in order to be a Christian; of Liliwati Singh, chosen as successor of Isabella Thoburn as principal of the first Christian college for women in India; of Mrs. Paul Appasamy of Madras, whose recent tour through India greatly advanced the interest in the National Missionary Society; and of Deaconess Ellen Lakshmi Goreh, who wrote our beautiful hymn:

In the secret of His presence how my soul delights to hide!
Oh, how precious are the lessons which I learn at Jesus' side!
Earthly cares can never vex me, neither trials lay me low;
For when Satan comes to tempt me, to the secret place I go.

Thus at one extreme in the Indian Church are the educated leaders whose capacity seems equal to that of the ablest foreign missionaries, and whose claim to have a voice in the evangelization of India is fully justified. At the other extreme and vastly preponderating in numbers are the simple and undeveloped congregations drawn from the depressed classes. Owing to their poverty and ignorance they cannot bear heavy responsibilities. Their place of Christian worship may be a mud-walled building, larger and better built than their own village houses; or it may be merely a raised, level, shaded place for prayer out in the open. Such congregations will naturally require a great deal of training, nurture, and discipline before they can be built up into useful citizens and can take an adequate place in the life of the Church and the nation.

VIII

A matter more important than the actual numbers in the Church is the evidence of inner expansive force. Are there signs that the Indian Church wants to pass on the Light?

The Indian Missionary Society of Tinnevely is one answer to this question. It is the missionary expression of a strong community with a Christian tradition of several generations; for Tinnevely is the center of one of the oldest non-Roman missions in India, and one tenth of the population of the area is Christian. They are mainly Anglicans and their Church has attained a high degree of self-support, self-government, and self-propagation. Their society was founded in 1903, and raises over Rs. 18,000 for their work in what for them is a foreign mission, since it is in another language area.

In 1905, in the very pagoda where Henry Martyn used to pray for India, there was organized the Indian National Missionary Society. Its object is the evangelization of the unoccupied areas of India by means of Indian missionaries under Indian management. A very definite appeal is made to the national spirit in its constituency. It has fourteen missionaries, working in six different parts of India, with a budget of Rs. 37,000 (1920).

Still another hopeful sign is found in the awakening of the ancient Syrian Church. Few in the West realize that a Christian Church has existed for fifteen centuries in the feudatory states of Travancore and Cochin along the south-western coast of India. In popular tradition this Syrian Christian Church goes back even further, being attributed to

the work of the apostle Thomas. In the two states named, the Syrian Christians number one in four in the population, and in intellectual power and vigor they are equal to the Brahmans. Ancient rulers have accorded them important privileges recorded on copper plates, and today some of them hold high and important posts.

Joy and sorrow mingle as we think of the Syrian Church in India. We rejoice that a church has continued all these centuries without being lost in the Indian religions. But we lament its lack of vision and aggressive evangelism. They have often had to suffer for their faith, and may have exercised a leavening influence on Hindu thought, but through the centuries they have shown almost no missionary interest. They simply settled down as a good caste. Moreover, they have been bitterly divided into five different groups. This Church after sleeping for a thousand years has shown distinct signs of quickening. There is a very definite *rapprochement* between some of its branches, and they have in recent years begun to send out foreign missionaries of their own to learn another language and work for the Christianization of India. Christian leaders of exceptional beauty and winsomeness of character have come from this ancient Church, and much is expected from the revival stirring among them.

The recent Evangelistic Forward Movement has given a great and widespread impetus to personal evangelism. Beginning in the south the movement spread throughout a great part of India. The aim has been to lay upon individual members of the Church responsibility in regard to those immedi-

ately about them. Tens of thousands have responded. In some parts of the country the work has been directed by bodies composed exclusively of Indians. Women as well as men have taken part in the campaigns, and often Indian methods have been used. The villagers begin to take notice saying, "There must be something in this thing that makes successful, well regarded men take it so seriously." The movement has been distinctly encouraging, and it may be said in general that the churches show a growing sense of responsibility for the evangelization of India. The greatest annual Christian gathering in the world is a convention entirely managed by the Indian Christians of Travancore, when 30,000 people spend a week in inspirational meetings and Bible study.

Beyond and above all the Christians may *do*, however, is that which they *are*. It is impossible to tabulate the results of pure and aspiring lives. Christian students in the colleges, Christian teachers in the schools, Christian women demonstrating in manifold forms of service the unused resources in Indian womanhood, Christian homes — just to be Christians is a great witness. Very often even in crowded thoroughfares it is possible to distinguish Christians merely from outward appearances. Many a traveler witnesses to the immense relief it is to get away for a time from non-Christian India and sit in the midst of a Christian audience even when the vernacular is not understood. Hymns are sung by women at their work in the rice fields or as they pick the cotton or weave their cloth. Over many a Hindu village there steals, night after night,

the sound of the native drum accompanying the praises not of Ram or of Krishna, or yet of some more questionable earthly love, but some Christian lyric in praise of their Lord Jesus. And the people, chattering as they smoke, whisper to one another, "The Christians are making prayers." Thus in organized and unorganized ways the message is passed on.

IX

Nineteen centuries ago three wise men from the East placed gold, frankincense, and myrrh at the feet of Jesus. More varied and far more precious than such material gifts are the capacities and endowments which today a great Eastern people can place at Christ's disposal. The beauty of life and character already revealed in the Christian Church of India is but a foretaste of the rich contribution and spiritual insight which India will give to the world when Christ has His way in that land. Do we find within ourselves a passionate longing that the religious devotion now lavished on rude stones and inadequate symbols of divinity should be turned as a flood to the Way, the Truth, and the Life? Only then will Christ be formed in India, through making over her individual and corporate life into the image of God.

We have seen how her God-given capacities are handicapped, limited, and suppressed by many a grievous burden. Most of these drawbacks are entirely removable through forces which issue from a Life whose witnesses we are. Can we, then, be indifferent when it is within our power greatly to

accelerate the time when India will be freed from the drag of ignorance, poverty, and superstition?

We have seen that India is trying to help herself. She is not a dead, inert load. Even non-Christians are responsive to new light and to fresh influences. Many of her sons are, according to their lights, striving for her higher self-realization. All this gives promise that an awakening leadership will carry on and complete the work when once they catch the vision. In these days when the new India is shaping so rapidly before our eyes, are we going to hesitate to do all in our power to train leaders and to share ideals?

Of those responding to new influences, growing numbers acknowledge the Lordship of Jesus Christ. In Him individuals find themselves re-created in their innermost personalities and full of gratitude for new and unexpected light and life. One by one from the higher strata and in masses from the out-castes they are being stimulated to consciousness of personal accountability, worth, and mission. From such men and women the Indian Church is forming. We have seen this Church emerging from the lowest depths of Hindu society, confronted with problems of great difficulty, weighted down with the inheritances of prejudice and contempt, yet triumphing, witnessing, and producing Christian citizens and leaders. Could any greater call come to the Christian friendship of the West than the opportunity to help this rising Church in its task of winning India to the inclusive Christian fellowship at work for a better world?

The cooperation which we long to establish with

India does not end with us as human beings. At the center of the Christian's universe is Love, eternally creative and purposing good. The wonder ever is that He welcomes us to fellowship in service. He has a place for us, and yearns for our cooperation. "I call you not servants, but friends." A very real part of our message is to share with India the transforming experience of being a "co-worker" with such a God. Together and with God we will attempt the task of missions—the Christian's conscious cooperation with the indwelling Spirit in promoting the development of life, the bringing of life at its highest as found in Jesus to bear upon other life, individual and social, that it may be raised to greater perfection and ever increasing potency. We are to work *for* India that we may the better work *with* her in behalf of a common goal—the Kingdom of God.

Friends of India, what are the passion and conviction which move upon men's hearts, forcing them either to go or send their best into such places of need as this book has described? Surely statistics alone cannot do it. Neither mainly is it the delineation of every hideous form which lifts its head in a non-Christian land. It is something far more fundamental than that. Any careful student will see that the great need of our times, underlying the need for all other reforms, is for a transformation of character. For this achievement there is no other force remotely comparable to the person of Jesus Christ. Balance on the one hand all the truths and beauties that the most careful search and the most generous interpretation can glean from all

the non-Christian faiths taken together, and on the other the Gospels and the Person they make real to us. It is because of the infinite superiority and necessity of the latter for the world's need and hunger that Christian missionaries offer themselves in a glowing, beautiful service among the neediest on earth.

In the last analysis the measure of our Christian outreach to the world is the measure of our valuation of Jesus Christ and of the forces and life expressions to which He gives rise. Even non-Christians can see this. Commenting on the shortage of medical missionaries, the *Indian Social Reformer* said, "If men and women are less interested in missions than they formerly were, they must be less interested in Christ; and a revival of vital religion is the only solution of the problem." Unless to ourselves He has become the gripping force in life, unless we are conscious of utter failure without His saving power in our own lives, unless we have caught some of the spirit and love that come from Him, we are not likely to pay the price of giving Him to others. God grant that we may live so deeply in Him that the impulsion of a great experience will be sufficient to overcome inertia and selfishness. Then we will spontaneously say with Paul, "The love of Christ constraineth us"—to yearn, to pray, to give, to go.

Prayer

FATHER of all nations, we bring to Thee our thanksgiving for the Church of India. For India's great, yearning heart and for the restlessness that draws her people for satisfaction to the Christ; for the first converts in every field; for succeeding generations of Christians; for the growing strength and numbers of those who are called by Thy name; for the steadfastness of the ancient Syrian Church and for the riches of Christian character it contains; for the signs of vitality and power, we praise Thee.

¶ Hear, O Father, our prayer for this growing Church which is as a light shining in a great darkness, where counter forces are strong, and the task is almost overwhelming. Strengthen its members for the long and arduous battle which must be fought against old and ingrained habits of thought and act which tend to cling. May they not stop with the mere language of Christian faith and experience, but grip the very mind and heart of the Christian message.

¶ As they begin to express Christianity in their own way, protect them from mistakes. May the vigor and quality of their spiritual life, freely expressed according to their distinctive powers and capacities, be a winsome witness to all India. Inwardly persuaded that Christ is the secret and power of life for their own people both collectively and individually, may they be richly blessed and guided in interpreting Him to their fellows. *Amen.*

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